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II. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

A. Introduction of Chinese Culture

• 175 The legendary history of China records close relations between the Pa and Shu tribal states of the Chengtu Plain in Szechwan and the mythical Chinese emperors in the Yellow River area of North China, from which the mainstream of Chinese civilization spread south. In the historical period, the tribal kingdoms participated in the campaign of the founder of the Chou Dynasty (c. 1030-221 B.C.) which overthrew the first unified state in China -- the Shang (c. 1520-c. 1030 B.C.).[3] However, the Chinese culture did not begin to exert real influence in the Southwest Region until just before the establishment of the first Chinese Empire under the Ch'in Dynasty (221-206 B.C.).[4]

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3. Harold Wiens, China's March toward the Tropics, Hamden, Conn., Shoe String Press, 1954, pp. 55-62. On early cultural development in the Southwest Region see Ibid., pp. 29-129.

4. On the development of Chinese civilization from prehistoric times through the founding of the Ch'in Dynasty see Wolfram Eberhard, A History of China, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1950, pp. 3-68; Kenneth S. Latourette, The Chinese: Their History and Culture, 2nd ed., rev. (two volumes in one), Vol. I, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1934, pp. 32-84. Joseph Needham, Science and Civilization in China, Vol. I, Cambridge, England, The University Press, 1954, pp. 73-98, summarizes both foregoing presentations and other [cont'd

• 175 In the struggle for hegemony over all China among the petty states of the former Chou domains, the Southwest Region played a key role. During the fourth century B. C., eastern Szechwan became a part of the principality of Ch'u, which dominated the Yangtze River plain from what is now Chungking to the sea. At about the same time, the state of Ch'in expanded from its base in Shensi into the Chengtu Plain. The maneuver cut off a Ch'u military expedition seeking new territories in Kweichow and Yunnan, and it turned back to the Kunming region of Yunnan to establish the kingdom of Tien under the army's leader, Chuang Ch'iao.[5]

More important, the occupation of the forme Pa and Shu territories by Ch'in helped it to vastly expand its economic resources, outflank and defeat Ch'u in the final struggle for power, and become the founder of the first Chinese Empire in 221 B.C. The victory of Ch'in was in large part due to the broadening of its agricultural base through the development of the Chengtu Plain. Large numbers of people from the original domain in Shensi were transported to the more productive Szechwan plain, and its potential began to be realized at the end of the fourth century by the construction of a still functioning irrigation system

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modern scholarship on China's early development.

5. Wiens, op. cit., pp. 145-146.

975 initiated by the Ch'in governor Li Ping.[6] The longer range results of Ch'in's development of the Chengtu Plain was to make it a continuing center of Chinese agriculture, civilization, and population up to the present day.

The great Han Dynasty (206 B.C. to A.D. 220) initiated the policy of indirect rule in the frontier areas of the Southwest Region. Tribal territories were formed into political departments and districts. With the exception of those on the Chengtu Plain, they continued to be under the real control of their former tribal chieftains. The local rulers recognized the Han emperor as an overlord, a relationship enforced by imperial military expeditions when not accepted voluntarily by reason of the prestige of the Han Empire and its bestowal of gifts and titles. Among the most powerful local rulers who accepted the vassal relationship voluntarily were the kings of Tien in Yunnan and of Yeh-lang in western Kweichow.[7]

The policy of indirect rule over most of Kweichow, Yunnan, and eastern and western Szechwan was followed by subsequent dynasties until nearly the end of the fourteenth century. During that time, less than 20 per cent of the Yunnan-Kweichow plateau, the area most suitable to Chinese agriculture aside from the Chengtu Plain, was occupied by Han Chinese people.[8]

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6. Chi Ch'ao-ting, Key Economic Areas in Chinese History, London, George Allen and Unwin, 1936, p. 96. In late 1954, the Communist press reported that the two-thousand year old irrigation

[continued next page]

175 However, many of the semi-autonomous tribes adopted administrative and cultural elements from the Chinese civilization when it was politically unified and powerful. Whenever the empire showed signs of weakness or was in eclipse, the tribal peoples broke away from Chinese influence.

B. Separatism in the Southwest

The chaos in the Southwest Region following the collapse of the Han Dynasty was resolved by the genius of the prime minister of the Shu Han Dynasty (221-264), recognized by the Chinese as the legitimate dynasty among the Three Kingdoms which ruled a divided empire after A.D. 220. Established on the Chengtu Plain, the Shu Han ruled most of Yunnan and Kweichow. The famous prime minister Chu-ko Liang set up an administrative system whereby central Szechwan and some of the surrounding Sinified areas of the central plateau of Yunnan-Kweichow were organized into districts under the direct rule of the capital at Chengtu. Outlying areas in Yunnan were tied to the kingdom by overlord-vassal

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[continued] system in Szechwan was being expanded: S.C.M.P., 941, p. 39.

7. Wiens, op. cit., pp. 147-8.

8. Ibid., p. 185.

175 arrangements which permitted the chieftains to retain real power in the tribal territories. Chu-ko Liang's firm but fair treatment of the distant tribes gained their respect and admiration. His reputation is still high among the Wa (K'a-wa) tribes of southwestern Yunnan.[9]

A less Sinified and longer lasting independent state was established in the Southwest Region during the middle of the T'ang Dynasty (618-906). The small tribe of Nan-chao in the Ta-li Plain of western Yunnan expanded under the leadership of P'i-lo-ko and the encouragement of the T'ang administration to extend control over most of Yunnan and Sikang. This movement was sanctioned by the T'ang because Nan-chao emulated Chinese administration and culture while performing the vital function of containing the threat of rampant Tibetan nomads on the western borders of the empire.

When a T'ang minister insulted the second ruler of the Nan-chao, Ko-lo-feng, he broke with the dynasty and founded an independent kingdom in 750. In the next century and a half, the Nan-chao threatened the existence of the T'ang, spread into Kweichow, and repeatedly invaded Szechwan and areas outside the Southwest Region to the north and south. During this time, the independent kingdom was absorbing Chinese culture through plunder, captives, and inter-marriage. The assimilation

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9. Ibid., pp. 148-50.

175 was so thorough that the Min-chia (Pai-man) trbies of the Ta-li Plain show a close affinity to Chinese culture today.[10]

In conquering the Chinese Empire of the Sung Dynasty (960-1279), the Mongols outflanked it by striking through the Ta-li kingdom. Central Yunnan was made desolate by the invasion, but remnants of the Ta-li state survived as vassals of the Yüan (Mongol) Dynasty (1279-1368) until the conquest of Yunnan by the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) in 1382. The province was incorporated into the Chinese Empire by the Mongols, who installed as governor a Mohamedan Tartar from Bukhara. Under the adopted Chinese name of Sai Tien-ch'i, he repopulated central and western Yunnan by inviting in Mohamedans from Northwest China. As a result, the province has become a secondary Chinese center of Mohamedanism.[11]

175 538 While most of the Southwest continued as an undeveloped and unassimilated frontier area, the thoroughly Sinified Red Basin in Szechwan was contributing to Chinese civilization some of its greatest exponents in the arts, philosophy, and statecraft. No Chinese poet has ever surpassed the work of Li Po (c. 700-762), whose birthplace is disputed but thought to be in Szechwan, and his frequent companion in bacchic revels, Tu Fu 712-770), more certainly a native of the province. Both men were for a time favorites at the T'ang court and were among the "Eight Immortals

10. Ibid., pp. 142, 157-62.

11. Ibid., pp. 162-64, 184.

175 of the Wine-cup" -- a small group devoted to
538 serious drinking and metaphysical flights of Taoist and Buddhist fancy.[12] Both men suffered misfortune and privation during their lives, but Li Po sought to escape them by retreat into a romantic world, unlike Tu Fu, whose poetry often expresses suffering in moving terms. Both men are acclaimed by the Communists. Tu Fu's concern with his own and the world's miseries has been interpreted by the Communists as evidence of his anti-feudalistic feeling, and the current regime has lauded him and his poetry while making his home in Chengtu into a national shrine.[13]

Another famous exponent of Chinese culture from Szechwan was Su Tung-p'o (Su Shih, 1036-1101). He has a high place among the great names of Chinese philosophy, literature, and caligraphy. His philosophic writings -- committed to no orthodoxy and searching for the truth in Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism -- were long influential in China and Japan as well.[14]

C. Development of Chinese Settlement and Direct Control

167 Large-scale settlement of Yunnan and Kwei-
175 chow by Han Chinese and the extension of Chinese central authority in these provinces and Szechwan became a Chinese policy with the Ming Dynasty. Under its rule, mass migration into western Szechwan and the Yunnan-Kweichow plateau was effected on a planned basis. One of the initial

12. Latourette, op. cit., Vol.I, pp.219-220.
13. S.C.M.P., 840, p. 41.
14. Latourette, op. cit., Vol. I,pp.264,267.

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167 acts of the first Ming emperor Hung Wu (Chu Yüan-chang) was to remove most of the population of the Nanking area to Yunnan. Thereafter, armies recruited largely from the Yangtze Valley were settled in agricultural colonies throughout the fertile regions of Szechwan, Kweichow, and Yunnan. Fortifications were established at strategic points in the three provinces. Control and colonization in other areas of the Southwest Region were facilitated by commercial and civilian agencies. These acts made possible the establishment of Kweichow as a province under Chinese administrative control.[15]

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636 The incorporation of Yunnan, Kweichow, and Szechwan into the Chinese Empire did not mean the imposition of effective control by the central government throughout these provinces. The Han Dynasty policy of indirect administration of non-Han Chinese areas through local rulers was formalized under the Ming Dynasty by the inauguration of the t'u-ssu system. Under it, local rulers were confirmed or established as hereditary t'u-ssu (local agents of the government) with various ranks in tribal areas. About one-third of these local chieftains were natives of the areas they controlled, another third were tribal leaders not native to the locality under their command, and the remaining third were Han Chinese, most of whom had adopted the customs of the subject tribal people.[16]

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15. Wiens, op. cit., pp. 180-85, 192-200.

16. On the inauguration of the t'u-ssu system and the extension of Chinese control in the Southwest Region, see ibid., pp. 221-66.

175 636 Some progress in extending direct control over former tribal areas was made by the Ming Dynasty through its program of planned settlement and military action. However, the Ming administration oscillated between a policy of leaving non-Han Chinese areas to their own devices and eliminating t'u-ssu power by military force. The latter policy was most consistently and successfully pursued in Kweichow.

A more persistent attempt to bring the whole Southwest under Chinese administration was pursued by the Ch'ing Dynasty. Under the Republic (1912-1949), the extension of Chinese administration was handicapped by internal revolution, external interference, and warlord rule until the retreat of the Nationalist Government to Chungking in 1938. By the end of the anti-Japanese Resistance War in 1945, some progress in further integrating the Southwest Region into the Chinese political system had been made, but the t'u-ssu and lesser tribal chiefs still exercising real power numbered more than one hundred in Szechwan, more than one hundred and fifty in Yunnan, and over one hundred in Sikang.[17] The continuance since then of local independence in the Southwest is reflected in the announcement that 220 autonomous local governments had been established in the region by the Communist regime up to September 1954.[18]

175 636 563 The extension of central authority in the

17. Ibid., pp. 240-41.
18. People's China, Peking, Sept.1,1954,p.23

175 63 563 Southwest was complicated by the lack of respect toward each other of the Han Chinese and the tribal people. People who refused to adopt the Chinese culture were habitually regarded as inferior by the Chinese. On the other hand, the frontier area did not attract the best officials or Chinese people. Representatives of the central government tended to be second-raters inclined toward indolence, graft, corruption, and oppressive tactics toward the tribal people. Petty artisans and merchants made yearly trips to the frontier areas looking for quick profit by any means, while the more permanent Chinese settlers in the non-Han Chinese areas were often refugees and displaced persons who lived at a lower level than their non-Han Chinese neighbors. From the tribesmen, who respected strength and straightforwardness, such official and non-official representatives of the Chinese earned only contempt and resentment.[19]

Another factor which made the abolition of local autonomy difficult was that the t'u-ssu and lesser chieftains often had the respect of their subjects, entrenched position, and the armed strength to resist anything but a full-scale invasion by the central authority. In many places where hsien government was established by the Ch'ing or Republican central authorities, real power remained in the hands of the t'u-ssu or village headmen.[20]

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19. Wiens, op. cit., pp. 251-53.
20. Ibid., pp. 248-50.

D. Conflict between Tribesmen and Han Chinese

175 167 563 The mass migration of Han Chinese into the Southwest Region and the attempts of the central government to increase its real control there resulted in heightened and continual conflict between tribesmen on the one hand and the new settlers and the Chinese government on the other. Even if the intrusion of the central authority did not bring with its exploitive and corrupt government, the influx of settlers encroached on the domain of the tribesmen to threaten their livelihood and the power of the local ruler.

175 669 563 Oppression and misgovernment by the Han Chinese bureaucracy along with appropriation of former tribal lands by Chinese agriculturists drove the Miao people of Kweichow into desperate acts of violence twice in the eighteenth century. A great outbreak in 1735 was put down with much bloodshed by an army under General Chang Kuang-ssu. After enduring another half-century of misgovernment and exploitation, the Miao people retreated to the deeper mountain recesses of the province and again attempted rebellion under the leadership of Wu Pa-yüeh in 1795. In the next two years, the tribesmen sacked Chinese cities and towns in Kweichow, Szechwan, and neighboring Hunan before once more being suppressed by central government force. Thereafter, the Miao people confined themselves to sporadic raids against the Han Chinese, who steadily advanced into the old tribal territories.[21]

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21. Ibid., pp. 190-191.

975 669 563 798 In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, outbreaks of tribal warfare with the Chinese central government occurred further to the south and west. Beginning in 1855, the Moslem population in the Ta-li district of Yunnan staged an uprising against their non-Moslem neighbors that led to almost twenty years of warfare marked by ruthless violence and slaughter on both sides. At least a million people lost their lives in the struggle, and one source estimates the population of the province was reduced from sixteen million to six million.[22]

III. THE MODERN PERIOD

A. The Coming of the West

177 From the middle of the nineteenth century, the Southwest China Region was subject to the intrusion of western military, material, and economic forces. They carried with them new secular and religious ideas incompatible with the traditional cosmological, social, political, and economic views of China. These forces for change coincided with a phenomenon when had been repeated many times over the centuries in China -- the decline of the ruling dynasty with an accompanying abuse of power and growth of disorder.[23]

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22. *Cf.* Eberhard, op. cit., p. 313; and H. B. Morse, The International Relations of the Chinese Empire, 3 vols., London, Longmans, Green, and Co., 1910, 1918, Vol. II, pp. 288-89.

23. The course and effect of Imperial China's

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B. The Western Military and Missionary Impact

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The initial effect in the Southwest Region of Western intrusion was the new influence brought to bear on the relation between the tribesmen and Han Chinese authorities by French penetration of Indo-China and British operations in Burma and Tibet. Annam, Tongkin, and Burma were all tributary kingdoms of the Chinese Empire until the last decades of the nineteenth century. Until the coming of the West, their borders with Yunnan were of little consequence to either kingdoms or the empire. The frontier area was rugged terrain inhabited by semi-independent tribes that had no consciousness of political demarcations and that moved freely back and forth across the vague boundary line. With French penetration of Annam and Tongkin and English advances into Upper Burma in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, all these tributary states were wrested away from Chinese suzerainty by force. Their borders and the loyalty of the tribal inhabitants of the frontier region then became matters of prime importance. If China pressed too hard for control or discipline of the tribes commissioned to guard the frontier, they had an alternative to Chinese rule and the means to blackmail the central authorities into more conciliatory treatment.

The Chinese frustration on the frontier was compounded by the inroads of France and England into the Southwestern provinces. Both Western powers in consolidating their position in the former Chinese tributary kingdoms

simultaneously enforced demands for the rights of trade, mining development, railroad building, and missionary settlement in Yunnan, Szechwan, and Kweichow. The foreign economic and missionary representatives were a constant source of irritation and fear for the Chinese and tribal inhabitants. Their periodic outbreaks of violence against the Westerners constituted excuses for forcing concessions from the Chinese government, causing it real fear that the provinces might eventually be alienated from its control.

By the twentieth century, Britain in Burma was emulating the old Chinese frontier policy of indirect control over the tribal elements. In controlling upper Burma as a defensive outpost of the English colonial empire in India, England left the t'u-ssu intact, subsidized them, and enlisted their sympathy in every way possible. What could happen when the Chinese government failed to follow a similar program was made evident in 1910. An attempt in that year by the Ch'ing Dynasty bureaucracy in Yunnan to punish the tyranny of a t'u-ssu of the P'ien-ma area led to his defection to the British and their occupation of the northwestern corner of the province.[24]

The Chinese have never been reconciled to the loss, and both the Nationalist Government and the Communist regime claim the upper salient

24. Wiens, op. cit., pp. 254-57.

175 636 563 of Burma as Chinese territory. Until the outbreak of the war of resistance against Japan in 1937, the British t'u-ssu policy in the Burma border area precluded any concerted attempt by the Nationalist Government to exercise real control over the Southwest Region frontier. The same frustration in frontier policy and extension of Chinese authority there still faces the Communist regime, as it has not attempted to enforce by arms its claim to the disputed Burmese area.

175 635 563 669 A chain of circumstances leading to the establishment of Sikang as a separate province within the Chinese administrative system was initiated by the British invasion of Tibet in 1904. The British move was undertaken to offset Russian [illegible] into Tibet during the previous decade, which England believed constituted a threat to its position in India. British occupation was soon followed by direct diplomatic negotiations with Tibet, though China was still recognized as nominal sovereign in the kingdom. At this sign of weakness on the part of the Ch'ing Dynasty, tribal leaders in what was then western Szechwan, and later became eastern Sikang, attempted to revolt. The uprising was quickly put down by a Szechwan army under the command of Chao Erh-feng. He attempted to replace the old t'u-ssu system by instituting hsien government on the Chinese model as a preliminary step to the establishment of a new province to be formed from western Szechwan and eastern Tibet.[25]

25. Ibid., pp. 237-38.

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Tibet asserted its independence during the Chinese revolutionary convulsions of 1912, and with British help maintained a disputed sovereignty until the Communists conquered the territory in 1951. No Chinese government accepted Tibet independence, and intermittent fighting between Tibetan and Szechwan troops continued until 1928. In that year the Nationalist Government was able to assert control over eastern Tibet. That area with western Szechwan was then incorporated into the province of Sikang as part of the Chinese administrative system.[26]

Although the Ch'ing and the Nationalist government policy relieved the t'u-ssu of their legal title to rule, they continued to exercise real command in most of Sikang up to the present time. The last large-scale attempt at revolt by the t'u-ssu occurred in the early nineteen thirties as part of what is known as the Nona Rebellion.[27] The revolt was touched off when Nona, a member of the Commission for the Organization of Sikang Province and high-ranking tribal chieftain, staged an insurrection after the rejection of his recommendation that the t'u-ssu system be restored. His defection led to general unrest among the tribal leaders.

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26. H. B. Morse and H. F. MacNair, Far Eastern International Relations, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1931, pp. 558-62.

27. Wiens, op. cit., p. 246.

175 635 563 669 The revolt was still in progress when the Communists passed through the Southwest Region on their "Long March." Approaching northwestern Szechwan from Yunnan by way of what was then the border area between Szechwan and Sikang, the Communists claim to have had considerable success in winning the friendship of the Lolo (Yi) people.[28] When the Tibetan Autonomous District of Sikang was organized in November 1950, the Communist press reported that fifteen years earlier in the same area the Communists on the Long March had helped the local leaders establish a Tibetan People's Government or Pu-pa.[29] However, a non-Communist study asserts that the t'u-ssu of Szechwan and Sikang feared the Communists more than the Kuomintang and that many of the local leaders were wiped out in desperately resisting the Red Army. This view agrees with the account of the Communists concerning their bitter experiences among the Mantzu tribes of the Lolo people in the extreme northwest of Szechwan and northeastern Sikang during the second stage of the Long March from the Sungp'an area of Szechwan to Yenan in Shensi.[30]

C. Separatism and Conservatism

635 669 175 The rugged terrain of the Southwest Region which had kept it isolated and backward during the

28. See Communist account as reported by Edgar Snow, Red Star over China, New York, Random House, 1938, pp.182-84.

29. S.C.M.P., 39, p. 42.

30. Compare Wiens, op.cit., pp.246-47;and Snow, op. cit., pp. 192-94.

175 imperial era served to perpetuate these conditions
635 during the Republican period that followed. What
669 part the region played in the revolutionary ferment that marked much of China south of the Yangtze River from 1911 to 1928 was characterized by greedy provincialism and military expediency rather than by national aspiration and political idealism.

An immediate and direct cause of the revolution that overthrew the imperial regime was the outbreak in Szechwan during September 1911 of strikes and violence against the central government when it attempted to take over from the province the financing and construction of the Hankow-Szechwan Railway. However, the Chinese do not mark this event as the start of the 1911 Revolution, because the Szechwan outburst was not motivated by anti-dynastic feeling. Rather, the resistance was an outgrowth of jealous provincialism and, apparently, the hope of local investors in the mismanaged and corrupt provincial venture into railway building that the central government could be coerced into replacing their financial losses.[31] When the dynasty showed
175 hesitancy in dealing with the Szechwan outbreak,
669 revolutionary politicians elsewhere in China made another and successful bid, after more than a decade of abortive attempts, to establish republican government in China. The premature explosion of a bomb on October 10, 1911 at the Hankow (Hupeh) headquarters

31. On the Szechwan outbreak see Harley F. MacNair, China in Revolution; An Analysis of Politics and Militarism under the Republic, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1931, pp. 28-29.

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175 669 of one group plotting to overthrow the dynasty is celebrated as the beginning of the republican revolution.

Both the outbreak of open warfare between the die-hard revolutionaries and the dynasty, opportunistic militarists in the Southwest Region as elsewhere in China were ready to take advantage of the situation to promote their own interests. Ts'ai Ao (Ts'ai O), a Ch'ing military commander in Yunnan, was the strong man of the Southwest Region. His troops quickly eliminated the Ch'ing adherents in the province and in neighoring Kweichow and Szechwan. As a reward for his contribution to the success of the revolution, he was made military governor of Yunnan under the new republic. A follower of the reformer Liang Ch'i-ch'ao rather than the revolutionist Sun Yat-sen, Ts'ai stood aside in the struggle for power which soon developed between the parliamentary-minded supporters of Sun Yat-sen and the dictatorial-minded president of the republic, Yüan Shih-k'ai. After Yuan had won the battle by dissolving parliament and crushing its adherents' attempt at resistance, Ts'ai was persuaded to move to Peking and take a nominal part in Yüan's increasingly more personalized government. When in 1915 Yüan attempted to cap his dominance of the central government by making himself emperor, Ts'ai fled the capital by way of Japan and returned to Yunnan in December to institute a rebellion that cost his life but eventually forced Yüan to relinquish his ambition and lose his hold on China south of the Yangtze River before he died in June 1916.[32]

32. Ibid., pp. 42-44.

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•175 669 After Ts'ai's death, his place of leadership and influence in the region and national affairs was aspired to by T'ang Chi-yao, a native of Yunnan and supporter of Sun Yat-sen. Along with other military strong men, he supported the various ephemeral governments established in Canton with Sun's real or nominal leadership between 1918 and 1924. They claimed varying jurisdictions -- always over Kwangtung and Kwangsi, generally over Yunnan and Kweichow, and sometimes over Szechwan and other provinces south of the Yangtze River. On Sun's death following the revitalization and strengthening of the Kuomintang with Soviet Union guidance and material aid, T'ang made a bid for the dead leader's mantle. The Yunnan militarist adopted the title of vice-generalissimo of the Kuomintang armies, a post which had been offered him before Sun's death. T'ang's amibitious move and his command of a combined Yunnan-Kwangsi army posed a threat to the largely Kwangtung military force and leadership of the Kuomintang. Within six weeks of Sun's death, the Yunnan-Kwangsi army was decimated and T'ang forced into retirement.[33]

Thereafter, the Southwest was splintered into petty domains dominated by a number of minor warlords. The influence of the revolution as of the

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33. Ibid., pp. 64-68, 95-96.

175 669 [66] Nationalist Government was scarcely felt in the region. Petty despots forced crop lands to be diverted to the cultivation of opium poppies, levied and collected taxes for decades still to come, and enriched themselves in every way possible at the expense of the lives and property of the people.

175 635 In the 1930's, both Yunnan and Szechwan were brought largely under the control of warlords native to the respective provinces they dominated -- Lung Yün in Yunnan and Liu Hsiang in Szechwan. The foremost native of Kweichow was likewise a military man, Ho Ying-ch'in, who had a major part in running the wartime Chinese army as one of Chiang Kai-shek's most powerful military deputies and still retains some influence in military and civilian affairs on Formosa. Liu Hsiang died as the Nationalist Government removed its capital to Chungking in 1938 and brought new influences to bear in Szechwan. Although there was no love lost between Generalissimo Chiang and Lung Yün, the latter held a major share of his original power in Yunnan throughout the war of resistance against Japan. Two months after V. J-Day, Chiang occupied the warlord's capital of Kunming and incorporated Lung and his army into the national military force. In this capacity, he led his troops into Indo-China to accept the surrender of the Japanese forces there in 1945 and, later, against the Red Army. While pitted against the Communist forces, he fled China to Hong Kong and subsequently returned to the Mainland to serve in the New regime in Southwest China.

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new regime in Southwest China.[34]

D. New Influences in the War of Resistance against Japan

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177 With the removal of the Chinese national capital to Chungking in 1938, the heyday of central government authority in the Southwest Region was reached. The Kuomintang and its government officials were concentrated in the wartime capital and exerted lesser control in scattered areas throughout the Southwest. Through these party and government officials, such mass organizations as the San-min Chu-i Youth Corps, and a secret police network, the Nationalist Government came closer to ruling the region than had any previous central political authority.

Accompanying the new political influence were the novel effects of the influx of professional and academic people, students, and business men from the more modern cities of the maritime provinces. Industrialization mushroomed, especially in Chungking; and that city with Chengtu and Kunming became the temporary home of displaced universities. Rural co-operative and education movements in scattered areas of the Southwest acquainted thousands of peasants for the first time with some of the new social, economic, and political ideas that had been current in the coastal cities

34. On Lung Yan, see Paul M.A.Linebarger, The China of Chiang Kai-shek. Boston, World Peace Foundation, 1941,p. 101;Herbert Freyne, Free China's New Deal, NY., Macmillan Co., 1945, p.169; and T. H. White, Annalee Jacoby, Thunder out of China, NY., William Sloane Associates,Inc.,1946.

of China for about a quarter of a century. The habits, dress, and ideas of American military and civilian personnel and of the Chinese refugees from industrialized centers constituted another novel experienced for the long-isolated people of the Southwest Region.[35] On the other hand, anthropological studies of ethnic minorities and geological explorations sponsored by the government gave the professionals involved and the government better knowledge of some of the region's hitherto unknown human and natural resources.

The depth of penetration and long-range effect of these new influences is difficult to determine. Had they occurred when the government was not primarily occupied with fighting a war for survival or under a more disciplined or more revolutionary-minded regime, the intensity and lasting quality of the new forces would undoubtedly have been strengthened tremendously. As it was, however, their power was diluted by Kuomintang censorship and control in areas where the new influences were at work, the continued existence of petty warlord rule in other areas, the skyrocketing inflation and heavy taxation incident to the war, and the growth of profiteering, corruption, and demoralization within the ranks of the Kuomintang and the Nationalist Government during the last few years of World War II.

From the beginning of the exodus to Chungking, the old inhabitants and the new arrivals from the eastern cities looked on each other with

35. On wartime Southwest China cf. White and Jacoby, op. cit., passim; Linebarger, op.cit., pp. 214-34.

175 mutual suspicion and disdain. When many of the
186 new factories and the modern, urbanized immi-
563 grants who largely ran them moved back to the more convenient locations and amenities of the eastern industrial centers after the war, their departure was mourned by few of the older popu-
178 lation of Chungking. Some of the factories remained in operation, however, and the wartime exploration of the mineral resources of the Southwestern provinces contributed not only new knowledge of the potential economic value of the Southwest but also impelling reasons for its further development and for tying it closer to the rest of China by improved communications.

177 The intellectual impact may have made a deeper, longer lasting impression on the people of the Southwest, simply because many of the students and older intellectuals were intensely desirous in their patriotic and socially idealistic zeal of establishing closer contacts with the masses of the people and contributing to their improved welfare and national consciousness. Likewise, most of the intellectuals in the rural education movement were devoted to improving the livelihood and educational level of the peasants. These rural teachers were fully conscious that if they attained their objective it would engender popular demands on the government for improved social conditions and more democratic, responsible political organization.

668 Both the organized rural education move-
ment and the sporadic efforts of inspired students and professional people were handicapped by

175 167 166 1280 A.D.) dynasties. In the Ch'ing (1644-1912 A.D.) dynasty more than 200,000 Han Chinese went to Sikang as refugees, criminals, laborers, and adventurers. Shortly after 1910, about 70,000 to 80,000 Han Chinese went from Szechwan to Sikang as merchants. Pa-an (Pa-t'ang), at the center of the province, and K'ang-ting, in the eastern part of the province, have more Han Chinese than other cities in Sikang.[5]

C. Yunnan

175 The first Han Chinese invasion into Yunnan took place in 225 A.D. during the period of the Three Kingdoms (221-266 A.D.). The next Han-Chinese attack during the T'ang dynasty was repulsed by a powerful Thai people organized as the Tali Kingdom of Nan Chao. This kingdom, however, was conquered by the army of Kublai Khan in 1253. The most important campaigns undertaken by the Han Chinese in Yunnan occurred in the Ming (1368-1644) and early Ch'ing dynasties. Some large families in Central

3. Lou, Yun-lin, Sze-ch'uan [Szechwan], Shanghai, Chung-hua shu-chu, 1941, pp. 35-36.

4. It is said that this policy of the Manchu government was pursuant to rebel Chang Hsien-chung's wanton killing in Szechwan at the end of the Ming dynasty which had nearly depleted the population there. See chapter on Historical Background.

5. Ch'en, Chung-wei Hsi-k'ang Wen-ti [The Sikang Problem], Shanghai, Chung-hua shu-chu, 1930, pp. 85-90.

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of the Na-khi Kingdom, as well as accounts of K'un-ming and the various prefectural towns encountered *en route*, and of their history in particular. Thus the reader will gain a historic bird's-eye view of Yün-nan proper, or, at least, of a large part of the province. Before giving these detailed descriptions of the capital and the various towns encountered on the way to Li-chiang, I shall begin with a brief résumé of the history of the province as a whole.

The territory of the P'u 濮 tribe. — During the reign of the Emperor Yü 禹, known as Ta Yü 大禹 (The Great Yü), who was the first emperor of the Hsia dynasty 夏紀 (2205–2198 B.C.), the land known now as Yün-nan lay outside his domain, which comprised nine *chou* 州 (divisions), the south-westernmost of which was Liang Chou 梁州. Yün-nan lay to the south-west of Liang Chou and was then known as the territory of the Hsi-nan-i 西南夷 (South-western barbarians).[1]

Prior to the Ch'in 秦 dynasty (255–209 B.C.) the Hsi-nan-i were all called P'u, and the name of Tien 滇 was not then known. P'u was also the name of a stream; in the *Han Shu Ti-li-chih* 漢書地理志 (Geographical Records of the Han dynasty) it is written 僕, which is the present-day Lan-ts'ang Chiang 瀾滄江 (Mekong). All the I 夷 (savages) were called P'u-jen 濮人. The Hsi-nan-man were also known as Pu-jen 卜人 and they dwelt where *tan-sha* 丹砂 (cinnabar) originated, with which they paid tribute. These Pu-jen are identical with the P'u-jen. They had no rulers and lived where they pleased, scattered over the country. Hence they were called the Pai-p'u 百濮 (Hundred P'u).[2]

The Kingdom of Tien 滇. — General Chuang Ch'iao 莊蹻, who was a native of the State of Ch'u and a descendant of King Chuang 莊 (Chuang Wang) of Ch'u (613–591 B.C.), had been sent to conquer territory to the west of Shu 蜀 and Pa 巴 (Ssu-ch'uan) and to explore the Chiang 江 (Yangtze). He arrived on the shores of the Yün-nan Lake (Plate 1) and called it Tien. As his road back to Ch'u was blocked on account of the State of Ch'in 秦 attacking Ch'u,

[1] The Hsi-nan-i (later the Tien-jen 滇人), were also called Man 蠻; this appellation occurs very often in the Records of the Three Kingdoms (*San-kuo chih* 三國志). The character *man* is interpreted as "ungovernable vermin," and was used because they were not classed as human beings but as 虫 vermin, reptiles, insects. The Min 閩 tribe of Fukien and the Shu 蜀 tribe of Ssu-ch'uan were also considered vermin. These two tribal names are the classical names of the latter provinces. The Huns (Hsien-yün 獫狁), as well as the Hsün-yü 獯鬻, Ch'iang 羌 and Ti 狄, were classed by the Chinese with dogs and sheep, and never with human beings. Hence they used the dog 犭 and sheep 羊 radicals in the characters for their tribal names. — From the *Tien-i* 滇釋, or "Tien explained," by Yüan Chia-ku 袁嘉穀, ch. 1, fol. 34, published 1923.

[2] The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 189, fols. 22–52, states that the P'u 僕 savages had a tail several inches long, and that they lived in nests in the mountains and forests. Their land adjoined the Ai-lao 哀牢, or the present Pao-shan 保山 of Yün-nan. P'u was also the name of the land south-west of the State of Ch'u 楚. These P'u are also the P'u-man 濮蠻 of Shun-ning 順寧, and the Lan-ts'ang Chiang (Mekong) is the ancient P'u Shui 濮水. The land of the Pai-p'u extended from Shen-chou fu 陝州府, in Hu-nan 湖南, west to Yung-ch'ang 永昌, the present Pao-shan. During the period of the San Tai 三代 (i.e., the Hsia 夏, Shang 商 and Chou 周 dynasties, 2205–256 B.C.) they were known as P'u 僕, but afterwards as the people of Tien 滇, Yeh-lang 夜郎, K'un-ming 昆明, etc. Still later they are spoken of as the Two Ts'uan (Liang Ts'uan 兩爨) and the Liu-chao 六詔 (inhabitants of the Six kingdoms of Nan-chao 南詔). Their name was constantly changed subsequently.

1[p.28A--Analyst]

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he remained in Yün-nan, made himself king, and called the land the kingdom of Tien, or Tien Kuo.[3]

The origin of Tien is explained as follows: the word *tien* 顛 is pronounced the same as *tien* 滇, and means the top or apex; heaven is said to be *tien* (high); Yün-nan on account of its altitude is said to be in the sky or *t'ien-shang* 天上.

When Chuang Ch'iao came from Ch'u and arrived on the high plateau of Yün-nan and on the shores of the lake, he called it the Tien Ch'ih, having reference to the high altitude of the lake. The kingdom he later established he called Tien-ch'ih Kuo 滇池國 and Tien Kuo, and himself Tien Wang (King of Tien). There is, however, another explanation of the origin of Tien. *Tien* 顛 also means "the beginning of" and "to upset," or "upside down." It is supposed to have reference to the stream called the Tien-ch'ih Ho 滇池河, which is the outlet of the K'un-yang Lake. The stream flows north instead of south, and parallel, or almost so, to the lake, and finally debouches in the Yangtze. It is said to flow *tien-tao* 顛倒 (reversed), and hence received the name Tien.

[3] The *Yün-nan T'u-ching chih*, one of the earliest geographical works on Yün-nan, states, in ch. 1, fol. 1a, that Chuang Ch'iao was the younger brother of Ch'ing Hsiang 頃襄王, King of Ch'u (298–293 B.C.), and that it was he (Chuang Ch'iao) who also called the Yün-nan Lake K'un-ming. This would seem the earliest record of the name K'un-ming. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 180, fol. 5b, says that King Wei 威 (Wei Wang), of the State of Ch'u, sent General Chuang Ch'iao to Yün-nan. If this is correct, the Kingdom of Tien was established between 339 and 329 B.C. It is further stated on the same page, that at the beginning of the reign of Ch'ing Hsiang Wang (298 B.C.) the latter sent Chuang Hao 莊豪 from Yüan Shui 沅水 (the present Yüan Chiang 沅江 (Yüan River) which rises in the ancient district of Ch'ieh-lan 且蘭, and flows into the Tung-t'ing Hu 洞庭湖 [Tung-t'ing Lake]) to attack Yeh-lang 夜郎 [which is the present district of Ch'ü-ching 曲靖 to the north-east of Yün-nan fu]. His army arrived in Ch'ieh-lan, moored boats on the river bank, and then marched to battle.

The *Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih*, ch. 409, fol. 1b, states that in the period of the Fighting States, Kuei-chou which belonged to the State of Ch'u was the land of Ch'ien-chung 黔中, and that Yeh-lang and Ch'ieh-lan belonged also to that State. The T'un Shui 豚水, on the east, passed by the district of Ch'ieh-lan (Ch'ieh-lan hsien 縣). The T'un Shui is also called the Tsang-ko Shui 牂牁水, and its waters are several li broad. This seems an extraordinary statement, but the *Shui ching chu* 水經注 or Water Classic Commentary, ch. 36, fol. 12b, states that in the river are two mountains called Tsang-ko 牂牁 (here the ox 牛 radical is used instead of the 月 or 木 radical). It is also stated that when Chuang Ch'iao attacked Yeh-lang and his army had arrived in Ch'ieh-lan, they tied their boats to the bank of the river. Therefore the river on the banks of which they placed stakes (*tsang-ko*) to tie their boats to, must have been the Tsang-ko Shui. According to the *Yün-nan Shui-tao K'ao* 雲南水道考 (Enquiry into the waterways of Yün-nan) the ancient Wen Shui 溫水 is here meant. It states that the Wen Shui has its source in the districts of Tsang-ko and Yeh-lang and that it was also the ancient T'un Shui. To-day this stream is called the Nan-p'an Chiang 南盤江 (Southern P'an River), which has its source 90 li west of Chan-i hsien 貴州縣 in a cave in the Hua Shan 花山 in eastern Yün-nan. The Nan-p'an Chiang is called the Chiao Ho 交河 in its upper reaches. The poet Wang Ts'an 王粲 wrote a poem on the scenic beauties of this river. The poem is called the *Chiao-ho yeh-yüeh* 交河夜月, i.e. The evening moon of the Chiao River. According to the *Ch'üan-ch'ing ch'üan-wen chi* 全上古三代秦漢三國六朝文集, ch. 7, fol. 1–2, the name Tsang-ko existed long before the time of Chuang Ch'iao.

SAINSON, *Nan-tchao Ye-che*, p. 271, gives the date of the founding of Tien Kuo, or the date of Chuang Ch'iao, at about 220 B.C. This could not have been the date, for the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* states, "At the beginning of the reign of Ch'ing Hsiang, Chuang Ch'iao was sent to Yün-nan" — which probably means about 298 or 297. He must have been at least 30 years old, or between 20 and 30, when he was sent to Yün-nan. Therefore, if 220 is taken

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The Miao-hsiang and Pai-tzu Kingdoms. — Long before Chuang Ch'iao established the Kingdom of Tien, Indian princes were said to have ruled in the western part of the province. Apparently the oldest name for that region was Miao-hsiang Kuo 妙香國 (Kingdom of excellent perfume). This was the present-day Ta-li fu or Ta-li hsien 大理縣, and belonged at that time to India. We read in the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* 南詔野史 (Romance of the Nan-chao Kingdom) that King A-yü (A-yü Wang 阿育王, also called P'iao-chü-ti 驃苴低 — the Indian Aśoka, King of Magadha, or Mo-chieh Kuo 摩竭國, the modern Behār) took for his spouse Ch'ien-meng-k'uei 欠蒙虧, who gave birth to a son by name Ti-meng-chü 低蒙苴. To the latter were born nine sons. The first-born, Meng Chü-fu-lo 蒙苴附羅, became the ancestor of 16 kingdoms. His eighth son was Meng Chü-sung 蒙苴頌, who was the ancestor of Jen-kuo 仁果 of the Pai-tzu (Kuo) Kingdom 白子國. This kingdom existed in the west of the province with the capital south-east of Ta-li fu, at Pai-ngai 白崖. Nothing is, however, known as to the succession of these princes. Their descendant,

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as the date of his establishing the kingdom of Tien, he would then have been about 100 years old, which, of course, is impossible.

The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 1, ch. 3, p. 3b, says that when Ssu-ma Ts'o 司馬錯 of Ch'in 秦 attacked Ch'u 楚 and Ch'ien-chung 黔中, the road to Ch'u became closed and prevented the return of Chuang Ch'iao, who then settled in Yün-nan and called it the Tien Kuo, of which he became king. The history of the Kingdom of Ch'in relates that in the 27th year of Chao Hsiang Wang 昭襄王, which corresponds to 280 B.C., General Ssu-ma Ts'o of Ch'in, passing by way of Shu 蜀 (Ssu-ch'uan) invaded the Kingdom of Ch'u and Ch'ien-chung. This territory comprised parts of Hu-nan, Kuei-chou, Hu-pei 湖北 and Ssu-ch'uan. We thus learn that the Kingdom of Tien was founded in the year 280 and not 220. The *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* 資治通鑑, ch. 4, fol. 16b, states that the word *ch'ien* 黔 was or is pronounced *ch'in* 琴. It further states that Ssu-ma Ts'o attacked Ch'u and Ch'ien-(Ch'in-)chung by way of Shu 蜀 in the 35th year of Chou Nan Wang 周赧王 or 280 B.C., so the founding of Tien must fall in that year.

I, personally, believe that Chuang Hao and Chuang Ch'iao are one and the same person, for the *Hua-yang kuo chih* 華陽國志, ch. 4, fols. 1a and 1b, states that "King Wei of Ch'u sent General Chuang Ch'iao from Yüan Shui to come out at Ch'ieh-lan and attack Yeh-lang, and to plant or place *tsang-ko* 牂柯 (stakes) on the banks of the Ch'ieh-lan to tie boats to. Thereupon Ch'ieh-lan was subdued and Yeh-lang was also reduced to submission." Two different persons could hardly be sent to the same place. This would be too much of a coincidence. The only discrepancy is, therefore, in the name of the king, and hence also in the time.

It is possible that the word *hao* 豪 stands for "leader" and *Chuang* for Chuang Ch'iao who was the leader of the expedition. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 189, fol. 6b, in fact states that Hao is identical with Chuang Ch'iao. On page 9a, however, it says that it is feared that this may not be so. As regards the name Tsang-ko 牂柯, the *Hou Han Shu* 後漢書, ch. 116, fol. 12a, states that "when they had arrived in Ch'ieh-lan, they moored boats on the bank"; also that "at Ch'ieh-lan there was a place for the mooring of boats to *tsang-ko* [stakes]." The name of the place had afterwards been changed and was known as Tsang-ko. A footnote says that *tsang-ko* was a post to tie boats to. The correct character is, however, 牁 and not 柯, though both are used.

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* states further that the Ch'ieh-lan region is the present-day P'ing-yüeh 平夷, Kuei-yang 貴陽, etc., now in Kuei-chou province. The province of Tsang-ko (Tsang-ko Chün 牂牁郡) was established after the pacification of the Southern barbarians (Nan-i 南夷) in the sixth year of Yüan-ting 元鼎 of Wu Ti 武帝 (111 B.C.). Later Tsang-ko was divided into two districts, namely P'ing-i 平夷 and Yeh-lang; the former is still called Ping-i 平彝 (彝 and 夷 are interchangeable) and is near the Kuei-chou border, while the latter is the present-day Ch'ü-ching 曲靖 and Chan-i hsien 霑益縣, both in eastern Yün-nan.

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175 101 Prince Jen-kuo, became later King of Tien, after the hereditary office of the Chuang Ch'iao family had come to an end.

These early Indian princes were succeeded by a family called K'un-mi 昆彌, and the State over which they ruled was known as K'un-mi Kuo 昆彌國. Again nothing is known as to the succession, nor are there any records of the names of the princes of the K'un-mi family. Their kingdom is said to have also been called Pai Kuo 拜國. This was before the time of the Fighting States 戰國 (480–403 B.C.) and prior to the arrival of General Chuang Ch'iao in Yün-nan.

The Chün of I-chou. — We now come to the decline of the Tien Kingdom with King Ch'ang Ch'iang 常羌 as the last of its kings. He ruled at the same time as Prince Jen-kuo: The former in the east of the province and the latter in the west. In the period Yüan-shou 元狩 of the Han Emperor Wu Ti 武帝 (122–117 B.C.), King Ch'ang Ch'iang incurred the displeasure of the Emperor, who favored Jen-kuo, who at that time ruled over the Pai-ngai Kuo 白崖國 in the west of Yün-nan (the present-day Hung-ngai 紅崖). In the second year of the period Yüan-feng 元封 of Han Wu Ti (109 B.C.) the King of Tien having been pacified, that is, conquered, his land was taken from him, and the province of I chou or I-chou Chün 益州郡 was created. Tsang-ko, Yüeh-sui 越巂 and several other districts were merged with it. After a few years all the land of K'un-ming was annexed and made subject to that province. The *chün* consisted at that time of 24 *hsien* (districts).

Han Wu Ti invested Jen-kuo with the title of King of Tien, and gave his State the name of Pai-tzu Kuo. He was also authorized to change his capital from Pai-ngai, in the west of the province, to Ch'eng-chiang 滇江, south-east of K'un-ming (Yün-nan fu). The town still exists, and is 120 li from the capital. Thus the kingdom of Tien was annexed to the principality of Pai-ngai.

The State of Chien-ning. — We now come to the period of the Shu Han 蜀漢 (Minor Han dynasty), to the third year of the period Chien-hsing 建興 of the Emperor Hou Ti 後帝, who had sent the famous Chu-ko Liang 諸葛亮 to Yün-nan to conquer it for the State of Shu. It was in the third moon (March 27th–April 25th, A.D. 225) that Chu-ko Liang attacked the South and entered Yün-nan. He stopped at Pai-ngai where he found Lung-yu-na 龍佑那, a descendant of Jen-kuo of the 15th generation. He changed Lung's family name to Chang 張 and appointed him chief of the kingdom which he called Chien-ning Kuo 建寧國. The capital of that kingdom was Chien-ning ch'eng, the present Mi-tu 彌渡, 30 li south of Hung-ngai, on the way to Ta-li fu 大理府. Later on Chang Lung-yu-na transferred his capital to Ch'eng-chiang [4] where his ancestor Jen-kuo had ruled during the Han dynasty.

[4] It is, perhaps, of interest to record that in the T'ang dynasty the Na-khi lived in the region described as follows:

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, edition of the first year of Ch'ien-lung (1736), in ch. 4, fol. 30a, states that at the end of the period T'ien-pao of T'ang 唐天寶 (755) the Mo-so-man 麼些 absorbed the territory of Ch'eng-chiang. Later the district was called Lo-ch'ieh tien 羅鍥甸. The P'o (Po)-man 婆蠻 afterwards conquered it. They were followed by the Meng family 蒙氏, of the Nan-chao Kingdom, who called it Ho-yang Chün 河陽郡. The Tuan family 段氏, who ruled Nan-chao under the name of Ta-li Kuo 大理國, divided the Mo-so into three tribes, namely the Ch'iang-tsung 蔣宗部, Hsiu-chih 休利部 and Pu-hsiung 步雄部.

The *Ch'eng-chiang fu chih* 澂江府志 (ed. 1719), ch. 3, fols. 4b–5a, says that because T'u-mo-

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The Nan-chao or Southern Kingdom. — A gap of nearly 400 years intervenes now during which nothing is known as to successions, or chronology, until we come to the descendant of Chang Lung-yu-na, of the 17th generation. His name was Chang Lo-chin-ch'iu 張樂進求. He was invested by the T'ang Emperor T'ai Tsung 太宗 in the 23rd year of the period Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (649) with the title of Shou-ling Ta-chiang-chün 首領大將軍 (Grand Marshal Commander-in-Chief). In the same year, however, he asked permission of the Emperor to abdicate in favor of the Meng family 蒙氏. He gave his daughter in marriage to a certain Meng Hsi-nu-lo 蒙細奴邏 who was a descendant of Meng Chü-tu 蒙苴篤 of the 36th generation. The latter was the fifth son of Ti-meng-chü 低蒙苴, a son of King A-yü 阿育 (Asoka, King of Magadha). Meng Hsi-nu-lo became the founder of the Nan-chao Kingdom and called his dynasty Ta Meng and his domain the Ta Meng Kuo 大蒙國 (Great Meng Kingdom). He was 32 years of age when he came to the throne in 649. His capital was Meng-she ch'eng 蒙舍城, the present Meng-hua hsien 蒙化縣, a town situated two stages south of Ta-li. He ruled until 674, while his dynasty lasted until 902.[5]

The history of the Nan-chao Kingdom forms the subject of a treatise written by the famous Han-lin scholar Yang Shen, 楊愼, of the latter part of the Ming dynasty, who in 1524 incurred the displeasure of the Emperor Hou Tsung 厚熜 (Chia-ching). He was first thrown into prison, and later banished to south-western Yün-nan (Yung-ch'ang 永昌), where he died in 1559. His ancestral shrine is in the temple compound of P'u-hsien Ssu 普賢寺, at Kao-ch'iao 高峽 across the lake from K'un-ming. This treatise (the already mentioned *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* 南詔野史) has been translated into French by Camille Sainson, a former French vice-consul at Ho-k'ou 河口 on the Yün-nan and Indo-China border. See appendix to Chapter VII, pp. 177–184.

Much of the history of the Nan-chao Kingdom can be found in the history of Li-chiang and need not be repeated here. Suffice it to say that the kingdom existed for over 600 years, from 649 to 1253, during which time Yün-nan was independent of the Chinese Empire. It was Kublai Khan, later the famous Mongol Emperor, who invaded Yün-nan in 1253 and annexed it to the empire, reducing the last King of Nan-chao, Tuan Hsing-chih 段興智, to a mere hereditary governor of Ta-li.

Tuan Hsing-chih had 12 successors, the last governor of Ta-li being Tuan Shih 段世 who took office in the 15th year of Ming Hung-wu (1382).

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chih 從英俄 of the Mo-so had acquired merit, his sons were organized into three tribes, and the territory of Ho-yang was divided among them as Ch'iang-tsung, Hsiu-chih and Pu-hsiung pu. The first became the Yang-tsung hsien 陽宗縣 of the Yüan and Ming dynasties (now obsolete); the second is the present Hsin-hsing hsien 新興縣, the third is the Chiang-ch'uan 江川 district of to-day. The Pu-hsiung afterwards lived at Ch'ieh-tien and were therefore called the Lo-ch'ieh pu 羅伽部. On p. 3b of the same work, it states further that T'u-mo-chih dwelt west of the Ts'uan-man 爨蠻 (Lo-lo) who submitted with them to T'ai Tsung 太宗 of the T'ang dynasty in the 23rd year of the Cheng-kuan 貞觀 period (649). T'u-mo-chih's territory was then at Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄 and belonged to two chou, P'ang 傍 and Wang 望.

[5] P. M. Tchang, S.J., in his "Tableau des Souverains de Nantchao" (*B.E.F.E.O.* Vol. 1: 313, 1901) gives the dynastic title of Hsi-nu-lo as (Fong-ming) Feng-min 封民.

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The province of Yün-nan. — The Ming Emperor Yüan Chang 元璋 (Hung-wu) sent Generals Fu Yu-te 傅友德 and Mu Ying 沐英 to subjugate Yün-nan; their troops seized various towns in the south-east of the province, such as Lin an 臨安, Ch'eng-chiang 澂江, Yüan-chiang 元江 and even Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄, half-way between Ta-li and K'un-ming. Gradually they advanced on Ta-li, which fell on the 23rd of the second moon, in the 15th year of Hung-wu (March 8th, 1382). Various revolts on the part of the aborigines followed in different parts of the province, but these were ruthlessly suppressed, for we read that in the eastern part of the province 30,000 heads were cut off, and of 200,000 insurgents who had attacked Yün-nan fu, 60,000 were decapitated.

In the same year 1382 the province was for the first time called Yün-nan 雲南, and this name has been retained throughout, up to the present day. The name Yün-nan appears for the first time, however, in the year 122 B.C. during the reign of Han Wu Ti, in the first year of the period Yüan-shou. It was then not the name of the province, but of a small town to the east of Ta-li, namely Yün-nan hsien. The *Yün-nan hsien chih* 雲南縣志 (Records of the district of Yün-nan) state that in that year (122 B.C.) brilliant (varicolored) clouds were seen in Pai-ngai, whereupon the hsien of Yün-nan was established.

The *Nan-chao Yeh shih* states that there is another explanation for the origin of the name Yün-nan. It is said that in the reign of Hsüan Tsung 玄宗 of the T'ang dynasty (713–755), the Minister of the State of Meng-she 蒙舍, by name Sheng Lo-p'i 盛羅皮, went in audience at the Court. When the Emperor asked him where he resided, he replied: "In the south, at the foot of the clouds"; thereupon the Emperor named his land Yün-nan (South of the clouds).

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Sixth stage. — From Kuang-t'ung to Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄 is a distance of 70 li. The trail follows the foot-hills which encircle the plain, then ascends a spur covered with a semi-xerophytic type of vegetation, consisting mostly of *Castanopsis Delavayi*, pines, Ketteleria, Euonymus, Lyonia, *Rhododendron decorum*, *Rhododendron Scottianum*, Quercus, Sophora, Pyrus, *Rubus luteus*, *Rosa Banksia*, *Osteomeles Schwerinae*, etc.

The trail continues to ascend the gravelly spurs to the summit of a ridge on which are situated a few houses which compose the hamlet of Hui-teng-kuan 回澄關, elevation 7,050 feet. This place is of historic interest. In the 23rd year of Yüan Chih-cheng 至正 (1363) a general, by name Ming Yü-chen 明玉珍, led 30,000 soldiers to this pass, coming from Ta-li to attack Shan-shan, the present K'un-ming. From Ta-li fu he was pursued by Tuan Kung 段功, who ruled from 1345–1366 as hereditary Governor of Ta-li fu. Ming Yü-chen and his accomplice, Li Chih-ma 李芝麻, as well as his younger brother, Ming Erh 明二, and others, were the leaders of the Red Turban brigands; they and their soldiers were defeated here by Tuan Kung. Hence the name of the pass, Hui-teng (To return and to struggle), having reference to his army turning about and fighting Tuan Kung. It can also be translated "to turn the stirrup." [13]

From the pass the trail continues at 6,900 feet elevation (watch-towers are on the pass as well as on the hills beyond), the grade being easy and the path sandy; it descends 600 feet into a ravine which has been banked by a dam, creating a deep, blue pond. From here the trail ascends to the village of Shih-chien-p'u 石澗鋪, situated on the edge of a plain at an elevation of 6,230 feet and 30 li from Kuang-t'ung. Thence it follows along scrub-covered hills for several li at the edge of the plain, then directly across the plain, which is barred by a low red spur. On this plateau is situated the hamlet of Ling-hsü 凌墟, elevation 6,200 feet. Here a valley opens, with a stream called the Lung Ch'uan 龍川 (Dragon River) which has its source at the Ying-wu Kuan 英武關 and flows south of Chen-nan hsien past Ch'u-hsiung, thence north into the Yangtze at Lung-kai 龍街 north of Ma-kai 馬街.[14]

The trail follows up-stream on level ground partly paved, partly sandy, — the hills to the left being covered with pines and large deciduous trees (oaks, etc.) and the fields cultivated with rice — crosses the red spur just mentioned and descends into the plain of Ch'u-hsiung at an elevation of 6,300 feet.

The town of Ch'u-hsiung is walled, rather long, and possesses about 15,000

south of Ch'u-hsiung. In the beginning of the Ming dynasty it was again changed (that is, it no longer belonged to Nan-an chou) and henceforth came under the jurisdiction of Ch'u-hsiung and had subject to it the peasants of four li. In ancient days Kuang-t'ung had no wall; the first brick wall built was in the 45th year of Ming Wan-li (1617). It was 3 li in circumference and 18 Chinese feet high. It had four gates, each with a loft, or tower-like superstructure, and was surrounded by a moat 5 feet broad and deep.

[13] The *Ch'u-hsiung fu chih*, ch. 1, fol. 25b, states that Ko-lo-feng intended to attack the Yün-nan T'o-tung ch'eng and arrived at this pass with his troops. He encountered a heavy thunderstorm when his captain advised him to return with his troops, hence the name.

[14] East of Chü-li-p'u 菊力鋪 the stream is called Pai-lung Ho 白龍河. Another name for it is Hung Chiang 虹江 (Rainbow River). It receives many small affluents on its way past Chen-nan, especially from the north, such as the Shuang-lung Ho 雙龍河, Yang-ch'i Ho 陽起河, and Tzu-tien Ho 紫甸河.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

133 This pond, which only exists in the summer, is called Tsu-k'aw-khü; when it is full it descends as a waterfall over a vertical cliff several hundred feet high, the water having cut a terrific, narrow channel in the rock. This waterfall is called 'A-nggü-t'aṇ (Floor of the split cliff).

The name Yü-lung Shan was first mentioned by Pauthier in *L'Universe (Chine)* in 1837,[14] and appears on the Chinese maps and in Chinese geographies as well as in the Li-chiang Records. The following appears in the *Tu-shih Fang-yü chih-yao*, ch. 113, fols. 15a–16b.

"The Yü-lung Shan is situated 20 li north-west of the military and civil prefecture of Li-chiang. It is also known as Sung hsüeh-shan 松雪山 (Lofty snow mountain) and commonly as Hsüeh-shan. The entire range extends for about 100 li, and about ten high peaks rise to the skies. It looks down on the Li Shui 麗水 (Beautiful River) [Yangtze]. The snow which accumulates during the summer never melts. Its cliffs rise to the height of 10,000 jen 仞 [one *jen* = 8 feet]. If one looks at it from beyond 1,000 li, it seems as near as the distance between a foot of eight and a foot of ten inches. It is connected with the mountains of Sung chou 松州 of Ssu-ch'uan." [15]

The Meng family 蒙氏 (of the Nan-chao Kingdom) bestowed the name of Pei-yo 北岳 (North sacred Mountain) upon it, and also called it Hsüeh-ling 雪嶺.

133 175 During the reign of T'ang Te Tsung, period Cheng-yüan (785–804) Wei Kao agreed with Yün-nan to attack jointly the T'u-fan (Tibetans) and drove them beyond Yün-ling 雲嶺, that is beyond the Hsüeh-ling (Li-chiang snow range).

In the beginning of the Yüan Chih-shun 元至順 (1330) period, one of the rulers of Yün-nan, T'u-chien 禿堅,[16] and others rebelled against the Mongol

[14] On p. 7 of his work a list is given of all the snow mountains of China, which is headed by Yün-nan. The fifth mountain mentioned is the Li-chiang snow range, and he states: "Siuè chan (montagne de neige) ou Yu-loung-chan, 26° 33′–97°. Cette montagne colossale est visible à une distance très-considérable; elle est couronnée par plusieurs glaciers élevés."

[15] This is the present day Sung-pan hsien 松潘縣 in the extreme north-west of Ssu-ch'uan. It is, of course, not connected with the mountains of that district, unless one considers all mountains to be so connected.

[16] The *Tien-yün li-nien chuan*, ch. 5, fols. 55a–57a, states: "History relates that T'u-chien and the Wan-hu 萬戶 (Rulers of 10,000 families) Po-hu 伯忽 and A-ho 阿禾 rebelled and attacked Chung-ch'ing Lu 中慶路, (the circuit of Chung-ch'ing = Yün-nan fu), and killed the secretary of the judicial commissioner, whereupon he called himself King of Yün-nan. This happened in the third moon of the 1st year of the period Chih-shun of Yüan Wen Tsung 元文宗." The *Hsin Yüan Shih* 新元史, ch. 22, fol. 1a, says that T'u-chien rebelled in the first moon of the spring *ting-szu* 丁巳 of the 1st year of the period Chih-shun (January 24th, 1330); he made himself King of Yün-nan in the second moon *chia-wu* 甲午 (March 2nd, 1330). Po-hu became the Ch'eng-hsiang 丞相 (Assistant minister) and A-ho became the P'ing-chang 平章 (Minister of State). In the fifth moon the Yün-nan Hsüan-wei-shih 宣慰使, Lu-yü 祿余 [he was the native official of Wu-meng 烏蒙, the present Chao-t'ung hsien 昭通縣 in north-east Yün-nan], rebelled and joined T'u-chien.

"History further relates that Lu-yü acquired merit by killing T'u-chien. He thereupon was made Hsing-sheng ts'an-chih-cheng ssu 行省參知政事.

"The Lo-lo and all the savages who had joined T'u-chien started rebellions everywhere and the P'ing-chang T'ieh-mu-erh Pu-hua 帖木兒不花 [grandson of Kublai] met his death.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

133 175 dynasty, and the Ssu-ch'uan army was ordered to punish them. In the defiles of the Hsüeh-shan they defeated the army of the Lo-lo-ssu 羅羅斯.[17] According to the *Tien-chih* 滇志, I-mou-hsün proclaimed himself Jih-tung Wang 日東王 (King of the Orient) in the fourth year of T'ang Cheng-yüan (788) and under pretext bestowed titles on five mountains, and four rivers. The eastern one, or Tung-yo, is called Chiang-yün-lu Sung-wai Lung Shan 江雲路松外龍山 and is situated 280 li north-east of the chou (department) of Lu-ch'üan 祿勸州 in the prefecture of Wu-ting 武定府, adjoining the border of Tung-ch'uan fu 東川府, Ssu-ch'uan (now Hui-tse 惠澤 in Yün-nan); it is also called Wu-meng Shan 烏蒙山, Yün-lung Shan 雲龍山 and Chiang-yün-lu Shan 絳雲露山.[18] The northern part of this range overlooks the Yangtze. Its twelve great steep peaks, extend for more than 70 li. In the twentieth year of T'ang Cheng-kuan (546) the military governor of Sui chou 嶲州, Liu Po-ying 劉伯英, said that the various Man beyond Sung, i.e., Sung-wai, only temporarily submitted and later revolted again. He petitioned the government to attack them in order to open the road to Hsi-erh Ho 西洱河 (Ta-li Lake) and India. This he was permitted to do. The following year the government sent Liang Chien-fang 梁建方 to mobilize the army of the 12 chou of Shu (Ssu-ch'uan) and punish the various Man of Sung-wai. Over 100,000 barbarians were killed and captured. Thereupon the various Man, severely frightened, dispersed to live in the valleys of the mountains. An envoy was then sent to Hsi-erh Ho, who, by proclamation, ordered the native leaders to submit. The chief Meng-yü 蒙羽 of Sung-wai was also ordered to pay tribute to the T'ang dynasty.

Afterwards T'u-chien's younger brother Pi-la-tu-mi-shih 必剌都彌失 and his whole family drowned themselves in the Lake (Yün-nan fu Lake). Two more of his younger brothers and his three sons were captured and executed while Lu-yü fled and all the rest were pacified."

[17] The Lo-lo-ssu were the aborigines ruled by a native chief who lived one li east of Chien-ch'ang 建昌, the present Hsi-ch'ang 西昌 in Ssu-ch'uan. The *T'u-i k'ao* 土舉考 says that during the period Yüan Chih-cheng (1341–1367) there was established the Hsüan-wei-ssu Tu-yüan-shuai-fu 宣慰司都元帥府 of the Lo-lo, the Meng-ch'ing 蒙慶 and of other places. They and their chief dispersed and lived to the west of the Ta-tu Ho 大渡河. The grandson of the Lo-lo-ssu Hsüan-wei-ssu, An-p'u-pu 安普卜 by name, submitted with all his people in the fourth year of Hung-wu (1371). He was given the title of T'u-chi-hui-shih 土指揮使 and ordered to administer the affairs of the military station of Chien-ch'ang (wei). He was, however, given neither letters patent nor a seal. He controlled territory 15 horse-stages in extent and ruled nine tribes, viz.: P'o-jen 婆人, Lo-lo 羅羅, Pai-i 白彝, Hsi-lan 西番, Mo-so 摩些, Lu-lu 鹿慮, Mongols, Mohammedans and Yü-jen 漁人. The Lo-lo were the most refractory and all these tribes scattered to the mountain valleys. The territory extended for more than 1,000 li each way; north to the Ta-tu Ho, south to the Yangtze, east to Wu-meng (Chao-t'ung), and west to Yen-ching 鹽井, the present Yen-yüan hsien 鹽源縣. The grandson six generations after him died without issue and the tribes all rebelled. The stronger lorded it over the weaker, and feuds caused constant murder, until all was quiet again after a long lapse of time.

[18] The *Tung-ch'uan fu chih*, ch. 4, fol. 5a, states that the mountain is 200 li south-west of the city of Tung-ch'uan, and is also called Yün-lung Shan 雲弄山. From Hsün-tien 尋甸 and Ch'e-hu 車湖 a branch extends 300 li as far as San-chiang-k'ou 三江口. Much snow remains on the mountain, hence it is called snow mountain. It is also called Wu-lung Shan 烏龍山. This name appeared first in the western Han dynasty. In the T'ang dynasty it was called Chiang-yün-lu Shan. Now it is known as Wu-lung-hsüeh-shan 五龍雪山. It is very steep and imposing, its 12 peaks extending through the clouds. On its summit is a lake called Hui-niao Hu 惠鳥湖.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

used to hearing objections of this sort raised, and it did not make me change my mind.

On the 5th February we left Ta-li and went back to Hsia-kuan, and on the 6th started for Shun-ning. The road leads up a big range, reaching the top at 8,700 feet. They say there is usually snow on this pass at this time of year, but the winter happened to be an exceptionally mild one. From here a long winding descent brought us into the northern end of the Mêng-hua plain at the village of Hsün-chien, where there is a particularly good inn.

The plain is some 25 miles long and three or four miles wide, with a small stream, which is the source of the Red River, running southwards down the middle of it. Its height is about 6000 feet. The inhabitants are Chinese and Panthays, the latter being in considerable numbers but not in a majority. The town lies at the southern end of the plain, and I did not see it at this time, but passed through it in a subsequent journey in 1898[1].

Mêng-hua is celebrated in the ancient history of Yün-nan as the scene of a deliberately planned murder, by which the Nan-chao kingdom was founded. At that time central Yün-nan was divided into six little states, but Pi-lo-ko, the prince of Mêng-hua, being a man of enterprising mind, invited his five royal neighbours to a feast. He had previously constructed a specially inflammable house of pine wood, and having made his guests dead drunk, set fire to the building and burnt them all. He thus combined the six kingdoms under his own rule and soon afterwards moved his capital to the Ta-li plain. This was in A.D. 731, and the kingdom continued with various changes of dynasty till it was subdued by the Mongols in the thirteenth century.

The next morning the *ch'ai*[2] sent with me as escort divulged the fact that he was not after all to accompany me to Shun-ning, but was to go to Mêng-hua. It appears that the *Hsièn*[3] of Ta-li, after agreeing to send him with me to Shun-ning, had been subsequently struck by the great responsibility he was taking on himself in doing so, and had consulted on the matter with the *Fu*[4]. The result

[1] See p. 147. [2] Policeman. [3] Magistrate.
[4] The Fu district official, sometimes called the *prefect* by Europeans in China.

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

CHAPTER I

SZECHUAN BASIN IN TRANSITION

121 The primary objective of this dissertation is a critical geographical evaluation of the agricultural and forestry land use of Szechuan Basin. Throughout the study emphasis has been placed on first, a presentation of the most characteristic features of the Basin, and second, a correlation of cultural life, especially agricultural and forestry land use practices, with the major natural elements of the Basin. Attention also is directed to the unique qualities which made the Basin a vital unit in China's resistance to invasion by the Japanese and to the growing significance in China's evolving economy.

131 Szechuan Basin is one of the large and distinctive regions of China. Surrounded by lofty mountain ranges and unique in its cultural development, the Basin is a clear-cut geographic unit. It has a mild, humid climate, fertile soil, a diversity of agricultural products, abundant mineral resources, and numerous important forestry, horticultural, and animal products. Szechuan Basin may be justly said to be the most self-sufficient region of China. In fact, by virtue of the great diversity of its products, the Basin is almost a miniature model of all China. It is an empire within an empire.

• 175 Szechuan Basin is an ancient land from the standpoint of human occupation and utilization. Aside from the upper Yellow River Valley provinces, Szechuan Basin was the earliest area of China to be settled. The first organized Chinese migration into the Basin took place in the fifth century B.C. As early as the feudal Chin period (360-251 B.C.), the Basin had already begun to assume considerable economic-geographic importance in China's national life, a role which has increased in importance since that time.

166 On account of its central geographic position (in relation to the surrounding land-locked provinces of southwest China), the Basin has received greatly diversified groups of emigrants from

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China
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174 convinced Eickstedt of a definite T'ai cultural tie-up with
171 the ancient Pa and Shu. Ancient writings of the Pa people were discovered on a stone tablet at Sui-ling in Ssu-ch'uan under an uprooted tree. Beautiful decorated clay vessels attributed to the Po-jen tribes have been dug up in western Ssu-ch'uan graves in the richly arranged burial grounds in the vicinity of Sui-fu. The coffins here were set up on steep rocks and pegged down, a type of "burial" observed by the present author in the Pa-yi (T'ai) region of western Yun-nan in 1940.

• 175 The ancient histories do not term the Pa and Shu peoples the Hsi-nan-i (Southwestern Barbarians) because the latter term derives from the Han period, whereas the state of Pa and Shu were established long before the Han rulers reached the southwest tribes. Nevertheless, said Hsu Sung-shih,[4] the tribes of Pa and Shu were of the same group as those of the Southwest.

The Pa state is supposed to have originated at the same time as the Shu state, that is, prior to B.C. 3000 and the time of the mythical Three Kings. One of the Three Kings was Jen Huang who was said to be one of nine brothers. Jen Huang is reported to have divided up the country into nine provinces of which he occupied the central one, while each of the other brothers occupied an outlying province. (The division into nine divisions probably is related to the feudal land division system of ancient China, where a square of land would be divided by the double crossed-lines of tick-tack-toe, thus making nine equal squares. The middle one would be occupied by the landlord or feudal lord, with the outlying ones occupied by fief-holders.)

One of the nine spheres of government was supposed to be the territory including the two states of Pa and Shu, which were presumably fiefs of Jen Huang (See Photo 6). For long generations the feudal state of Shu was the cock-of-the-walk in southwest China, and its culture is stated to have reached brilliant heights at an early period. The Yellow Emperor is stated to have got for his son, Ch'ang-i, a wife from the Shu-shan Clan, and the first-born of this pair became Emperor K'u (Ti K'u) (B.C. 2435-2365). One of Ch'ang-i's sons also married a Shu-shan wife. Furthermore, the homeland of the great Yü also is said to have been in the territory of the Shu-shan Clan. It is evident that if these were historical facts, the Shu State had very intimate connections with the Yellow River civilization. Its power surpassed that of Pa. Its territory is reported

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to have included Pao-ch'eng District, west of Han-chung in southern Shen-hsi, as its northern limit. In the southwest, it extended to include present Lu-shan District in Hsi-k'ang, the area of Li-fan Hsien, and, generally, the drainage of the Min River as far up as Mao Hsien. In the southeast it included northeastern Yun-nan and northwestern Kuei-chou. 175

The Pa State also was of large extent. On the east, it reached to present Feng-chieh District, while to the west, it extended to I-pin on the Yang-tzu River. To the north, Pa included Han-chung in southern Shen-hsi. The historical texts state that the great Yü got his wife from the T'u-shan Clan of Pa. T'u-shan was in Chiang-pei District in the Ch'ung-ch'ing vicinity.

When the great Yü reportedly assembled the princes to a conclave, Pa is supposed to have been one of the attending states. In historical times when Wu Wang, founder of the Chou Dynasty (B.C. 1122-1155) campaigned to overthrow the last Shang ruler, Chou Hsin, Shu joined the alliance, and Pa sent an army to the final Battle of Mu-yeh. The peoples of Pa included the P'u, the Tsung, the Chü, the Kung-nu, the Jang, the Yi, and the Tan. The people of Shu included the Tien, the Liao, the P'o, and also the P'u and the Tsung.

Pa was strong enough to invade Ch'u, the central Yang-tzu Valley state, in the 18th year of Duke Chuang of Lu, while in the 16th year of Duke Wen of Lu, Pa joined an alliance with Ch'in and Ch'u states to destroy the Kingdom of Yung. Pa enjoyed great prosperity for a time, but came to its downfall in a struggle with Shu in which both Pa and Shu were subjugated by the rising Ch'in state which later established the Ch'in Dynasty, first "unifier of China." Pa and Shu had been enemies for many generations. During the time of Emperor Hsien Wang of the Chou (B.C.368-320), the Marquis Chü was at odds with his brother, the King of Shu. He secretly made friends with the King of Pa and finally fled to the latter's court when his brother attacked him. Marquis Chü appealed to the King of Pa to help him against his brother, and the King of Pa appealed in turn to King Hui-wen of the Ch'in. The latter readily marched southward across the Ch'in-ling Mountains into Ssu-ch'uan and destroyed Shu, turning thereafter upon Pa and subjugating it also. From both of these former kingdoms he made Han-chung Chün (Han-chung Department). Ssu-ma Ts'o, his minister, was given a marquisate com-

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China
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175 prising this area. The famous engineer, Li Ping, was sent to administer Shu as governor, and it was at this time that Li Ping and his son developed the Kuan Hsien irrigation system still operating today.[5]

According to Hsu, the fact that the Chuang people of present-day Ssu-ch'uan, Yun-nan, Kuei-chou, and Kuang-hsi still sacrifice to the two irrigation deities gives added proof that the Southwestern Yi of Han times included the Pa and Shu peoples in their group. The indigenous Chuang of the provinces of Kuang-tung and Kuang-hsi do not honor these deities, however, and this would indicate that their migration there must have occurred prior to the end of the Chou Dynasty and the Warring States Period. It also points to the far-reaching spread of Shu-shan culture, while other cultural ties indicate that the indigenous Chuang of Ling-nan are of the same stock as those of Pa and Shu.

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Photo 6. Lu Hsien, Ssu-ch'uan Province (28°54' N, 105° 27' E)

133 311 When the Chin-sha Chiang runs out of Yun-nan to become the Yang-tzu River, it enters a great basin that once contained a vast inland sea in what is now Ssu-ch'uan Province. With long erosion considerable unevenness has developed that makes the local sandstone topography precipitous but without great elevation differences. From the air the eroded sea-bed aspect can be perceived without much imagination, an aspect that is supported by the meandering character of the streams. This is seen not only in the great bends of the mighty Yang-tzu, but also in the small tributary between two of the Yang-tzu bends. A surprisingly large proportion of the basin surface, therefore, is under cultivation to support in Ssu-ch'uan the largest provincial population in China. From dry-cropped flat-topped lake-bottom remnants standing along the sky-line, tiered paddy fields lead step-like down to the river floodplains. In B.C. times, this was part of the prosperous T'ai kingdom of Shu. The foreground shows the important Han-Chinese city of Lu Hsien where the road from Ch'ung-ch'ing to K'un-ming crosses the Yang-tzu. This was one of the last territories yielded up by the southward moving early T'ai migrants en route to the Kuei-chou and Yun-nan basin lands.

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To go a step further, the modern Siamese of Thailand are also of the same cultural stock as these people of Pa and Shu.

Hsu pointed to a possible significant connection in the use of the character Chū (in the term "Marquis Chū"), in a so-called Chū-lan Kingdom during the Ch'in and Han periods, and in the name of a city Yang-chū-mi in the Ta-li area of Yun-nan during the Nan-chao Kingdom and the T'ang period. This seems to him to show that possibly the same peoples occupied parts of Ssu-ch'uan, Yun-nan and Kuei-chou during these early periods.[6] This is very hypothetical, of course.

2. Noteworthy Aspects of Shu-shan Culture

Certain noteworthy aspects of Shu-shan culture must claim our attention:

(1) The use of the two characters "shu" and "shan" in "Shu-shan" gives some indication of the nature of the landscape in which the Shu-shan people devised their livelihood and may have a bearing upon their type of land-use. The Shan Hai Ching (ancient classic) says that the original character for "shu" meant "slushy mud". It also says that the state of Shu had three marshy streams termed the 'San-shu" or "Three Marshes". It would appear then, that "Shu-shan" means marshes surrounding hills and indicates a low-lying, wet landscape adapted to wet-rice growth and cultivation. This type of landscape is precisely the kind associated with the wet-rice culture of the T'ai ethnic groups throughout history.

(2) A second noteworthy aspect of Shu-shan culture is that it developed the art of silk making. Shu-shan had an early ruler called Ts'an-ts'ung, a name meaning "silkworm grove." The Lu Shih (Lu History) has shown that this was the same as the Ts'an Kingdom or Silkworm State of olden times. Myth also has it that Fu-hsi raised silkworms and mulberry. The Huang-ti Nei-chuan notes that the Yellow Emperor beheaded Chih Yu, and the Silkworm God made him a presentation of silk. The Huang-t'u Yao-chien states that Fu-hsi developed silk, and that the ancestor of the Lei of Hsi-ling encouraged the raising of silkworms. In the site of the old I-shui Hsien, south of present-day Sung-p'an in northwest Ssu-ch'uan, there are some mounds called "the Silkworm Mounds" which appear to correspond with the Hsi-ling ("western tombs") from where the silkworms were reportedly derived.

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and southwest China. In the eastern part of Hsi-k'ang the valley of the An-ning Ho, a tributary of the Ya-lung Chiang just before the latter joins the Chin-sha (Upper Yang-tzu) River, early became an important military route for southward-reaching conquerors. This route not only is fashioned for north-south travel, but provides a large rice basin where the present capital city, Hsi-ch'ang is located. It is doubtful that this was ever occupied by T'ai people, for this is in the midst of the Lolo country.

Undoubtedly the Kuei-chou plateau and mountain land played an important role in the separate development of the two principal directions of the T'ai thrust, that is, the thrust up the Yang-tzu into the Yun-nan lake basins, and the thrust southward into Ling-nan and the land of Nan-Yueh, present-day Kuang-tung and Kuang-hsi. These two regions have had significant early T'ai political organizations and they are still important centers of the T'ai remnants within China. Their historical development differed. Ling-nan was in the direct path of the Ch'in thrust for empire, and the T'ai had been here for many centuries before the Ch'in. Yun-nan, on the other hand, was probably entered by the T'ai only shortly before the Ch'in unified the

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Photo 8. Ts'ao Hu, Kuei-chou Province (26° 52' N, 104° 17' E)

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Ts'ao Hu in central Kuei-chou Province is one of the two lakes of a significant size in Kuei-chou, the other being in southwestern Kuei-chou near the Kuang-hsi border. This lake basin lies along one of the most important routes connecting Ssu-ch'uan Province with Yun-nan Province. It contains one of the few relatively large paddy areas in Kuei-chou and was early a Han-Chinese administrative center and military base for the conquest and control of the Miao and Lolo tribes of the province. The far left shore of Ts'ao Hu seen here from the west is the site of Wei-ning, the district seat and one of the larger towns of the province. Prior to Han-Chinese entry to this part of China, rice-farming T'ai tribes occupied the basin, while Lolo tribes farmed the surrounding mountains. With the increasing southwestward push of the Han-Chinese, the T'ai tribes migrated farther toward the southwest frontiers.

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enfeoffing him King of Yun-nan with the rank of T'e-chin, the title Duke of Yueh State and Prefect-creating General. Moreover, the Emperor bestowed a new name, Kuei-yi (Convert to Righteousness) upon P'i-lo-ko. The son of P'i-lo-ko was enfeoffed General of the Right Command, General of the Left Body-guard, Expectant of the T'e-chin Rank, General of Cavalry and, to top it all, the Emperor gave him the title: Pillar of State. Emperor Hsuan Tsung after A.D. 742 received P'i-lo-ko's grandson Feng-chia-yi in audience, conferred on him the title Hung-lu-ch'ing (rank given travelers of high status), and gave him an

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Photo 9. Ta-li, Yun-nan Province (25°42' N, 100°9' E

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Erh Hai (Ear Lake), 7000 feet in elevation, and the plain of Ta-li in western Yun-nan is viewed here from above the 14,000 feet high Ch'ien-ts'ang Shan west of the lake. Ta-li City, visible as the rectangular walled patch in the center of the lake plain, is the western rival of K'un-ming, capital of Yun-nan Province. The plain is about 30 miles long and 3-4 miles wide. Narrow passages at the north and south ends are strategically bounded by the towering Ch'ien-ts'ang and the lake edge, the southern entrance being through a canyon and across the bridge over the lake outlet. Early T'ai chieftains built their kingdom of Nan-chao upon this base and expanded the state to encompass most of the Yun-nan and Kuei-chou plateau lands. The state withstood Han-Chinese conquest for nine centuries, but was brought to its end by the Mongol armies of Kublai Khan.

The population of the Ta-li Plain for the most part are the Min-chia tribes who have successfully maintained their hold against displacement by the Han-Chinese. Highly Sinicized themselves, the Min-chia are being rapidly absorbed into the mainstream of the Han-Chinese culture. A small number among them have been converted to Mohammedanism, but most of them are Buddhists.

The Burma Road passes the southern approach to Erh Hai where the fortress town of Hsia-kuan guards the plain. From the northern end a motor road runs to Li-chiang between the great loop of the Chin-sha Chiang. The Ta-li Plain thus occupies a very strategic position in the communications of western Yun-nan.

000 said and what he thought never corresponded. He often said to me: "A clever man never speaks the truth!" (1) /Plates XLI, XLII, XLIII,

1. Two and one-half years later I accidentally learned that Da Tschang was knocking about in his native country, gay and in high spirits. He had brought home a new Tibetan squaw from Dscherku ndo.

C 487 and XLIV appear between pp. 184 and 185 in the original text. /
/185/ Near Puiling the big tea route leaves the Dsa Chu Valley in order to follow the nearest eastern longitudinal valley parallel to it. However, the Dsa Chu, like the Yangtze Kiang below Dschoma lhagan, at first breaks through the southern chains of mountains. At the place where it breaks through there is very little room beside it, and, it is said that pack animals cannot follow the river. The soldiers said that even riding horses had fallen headlong one time when they were going downstream. However, there is constant traffic on foot along the river to the populous and war-like Nyarong (Chinese: Tschan tui). (1)

1. If one goes from Hor Gantse down the Dsa Chu Valley - so the soldiers told me - one gets to Sade on the left bank the first day, and on the second to Zba, on the third, to Dagelo, then to Sana and Bur where the fortress of the chief official of the Dewa schung of Lhasa is supposed to stand. After another day Gur is reached. From the chief town in Tschan tui one estimates four days to Tschanggu and six days to Litang. In the entire Nyarong there are two higher officials from Lhasa. J. Bacot in Le Tibet revolté, Paris 1912, calls Rounon and not Bur the chief town of Nyarong. He, unfortunately, also did not succeed in visiting the chief town.

C T •175 631 As was mentioned before, the Hyarong is subordinate to officials appointed by Lhasa. In 1863-1864 during the Tai ping rebellion when the whole kingdom was in a state of fermentation, an ambitious Nyarong prince tried to free himself like the Ngolok, and carried on a terrific war of destruction against the Chinese and against all those who sided with the Chinese. At the request of the Peking government and pressure from Dergi, the Dewa schung (sdeba gschung) of Lhasa

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suppressed this rebellion, and since then Lhasa rules here. (2) The

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> 2. The General sent from Lhasa was named Bonroba, or, according to Rockhill, Punropa. He came from Kin tschuan and ruled in Nyarong and Litang from 1864-1877 like a sovereign prince. But Lhasa finally recalled him when he became too powerful, under the pretext of placing him in the highest offices in Central Tibet. Soon after his arrival in Lhasa he and all the members of his family were poisoned (see also Baber, Researches in the Interior of China, 1882). Dergi which was also very much humbled by Bonroba, has since then again enjoyed its former liberty. Like the small independent kingdoms of Ling-Gose and Lhada, it has only to pay a small tax for the maintenance of the Central Tibetan garrison in Nyarong (Tschantui). This tax is annually collected by officers of the garrison.

officials, high lama princes of the church, change office every three years and maintain bodyguards which the surrounding tribes must furnish and also, in part, pay for.

The Nyarong Valley extends more than 100 kilometers north and south and is warm and fertile because it is at a relatively low altitude. Well populated lateral valleys join it on the east and west. The country has more than 12,000 square kilometers. Administratively it is divided into and upper, middle, and lower territory. T 361

Inasmuch as Nyarong is ruled by the Deba schung, the yellow sect naturally plays first fiddle there today. A scourge for the entire surrounding country even in ancient times, it is now a stronghold of the yellow reformed church and able warriors as well as militarily efficient monks have constantly undertaken veritable crusades into the neighing countries, during the last decades, in order primarily to eradicate the ancient Bönbo faiths and win recognition for their own doctrine as the only one bringing salvation. T 798

A gentle rise leads from Puiling (3,425 meters) to the next /186/ pass which is only 4,050 meters high. We crossed it in a few hours and stood on the banks of the Da Chu which, smaller than the Dsa Tschü, is somewhat comparable to our Swabian lower Neckar, and comes from the northwest. At no place does it fill out the broad channel of the valley. Before we reached its banks we saw on the left the monastery of Dyoro which, like the rest of the monasteries of the T 792

his post two secretaries, a cook and four servants from the lowland; 000
the Chinese never take their wives along when they go so far into the interior of Tibet. But he was loaded down with so many goods that at first I took him to be a wholesale merchant. He had put all his cash into tea and cotton and of course traveled on ula which was furnished by the subjects of the Ming tscheng tu se. Since he had brought along only wooden saddles and no saddle blankets and did not want to lose time, the Chinese servants forced the ula men to strap the sharp-edged saddles on the bare backs of the poor animals. Tears were streaming down the faces of the Tibetans and they threw themselves on their knees in front of the Chinese, but the gentlemen rode mercilessly off without saddle padding. They were, after all, only ula animals!

After the Leang tai, officers from Yünnan and Hunan moved into my hotel. Every day new reinforcements arrived from down below. From dawn to dusk recruits were drilled in the temples and yamen, there were exercises in the handling of arms and there was target practice. The soldiers were armed with old European repeater guns and made a good impression. (1) C/T 701

1. The punitive expedition of the Anglo-Indian government which was carried out with such forbearance was a reply to the challenging refusal of the Dalai Lama. It came to an end in August 1904, under Younghusband with his entry into Lhasa and the Potala. Therewith the weakness of the Chinese position in those lands was clearly proven. In order to regulate matters at last, the Peking court sent off a special minister in 1904 whose duty it was to introduce a more rigid rule. Before this minister Feng had set foot on the actual land of the Dewa schung of Lhasa, however, he was shot in April 1905, along with his band of riders by the Dschraba of the Ba tang monastery. The monks of the Gelugba sect no longer wanted the Chinese to gain supreme authority. The rebellion spread rapidly toward Li tang and the Mekong and Yangtze Valley and as far as Aten tse in the northern part of Yünnan. C/T 175 •

The active Tschao ör fong who was at that time still dao tai - during the Chinese revolution he was well-known governor of Szechwan and as such was beheaded in 1912 in the streets of Tscheng tu fu by the Kuo ming

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tang party - was sent off to save the situation. The tribes of Ba tang and environs were condemned to annihilation (mieh tu). Szechwan sent ahead 10,000 men by way of Ta tsien lu and a general of the advance guard defeated the Tibetans on the plateau of Li tang. The Tibetan lama sympathized with those from Ba tang and did not seem loathe to join their kampo at the head of the rebels. Tschao or fong had one monastery after another captured and hardly had he entered Ba tang when its large monastery was also burned; to this day it is not known whether it was set on fire by the soldiers or by the monks themselves. The two kings (deba) of Ba tang who, as laymen, had remained neutral, he had beheaded. The two deba of Li tang were dethroned. One of them fled to the interior of Tibet, the other took poison.

Meanwhile the war-loving monks had retired to the mountain monastery of Sang pi ling in Siang tscheng, the Schangdreh province in the southeast, where supposedly they had enough provisions to last for 10 years. The monastery had become virtually impregnable because of an enclosing wall with eight projecting towers, and Ba tang and Sang pi ling monks competed for a common victory against the hated Chinese. Tschao or fong was obliged to besiege this monastery for half a year. His assaults were all in vain. He had had cannon dragged through the labyrinth of mountains without result. The ten-foot-thick walls seemed impregnable. The monks even made sorties on the mountain on which the Chinese artillery were stationed. After a few months the besiegers were worse off than the besieged who often mockingly threw tsamba balls toward their attackers. The Chinese /208/ soldiers stood their ground only reluctantly because of the murderous, or at least for them unaccustomed climate and because of the irregular provisioning. Tschao kept his army together only by a reign of terror. He had hundreds of deserters beheaded.

For months miners had to assault the fortress, against whom the monks constructed counter-mines. Finally the water supply of the besieged was made uncertain, and one night a messenger was caught by the Chinese

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who had been sent to ask for help from another monastery. After a few days Tschao sent an answer to the monastery and told the besieged that during a certain night Tibetan auxiliary troops would appear at the monastery gate and would the monks let them slip through the gate. But that night Tschao sent his best soldiers dressed in Tibetan disguise to the gate, and since there was no moon the other soldiers could follow behind the ones in disguise. The monks unsuspectingly opened their barred gate and after one gate was taken by the Chinese, the entire monastery was soon overcome. Everyone who did not succeed in escaping into the mountains under cover of night was murdered. In the confusion all the disguised Chinese were also slain. Not a single prisoner was spared. According to the report of an eye-witness the rebel heads lay scattered about "like pebbles on the banks of a brook." Five hundred cätties of severed ears were sent as trophies in 1906 from Ba tang to Tscheng tu fu, although there was always only one ear per head cut off.

With this the power of the war-like Gelugba Brotherhood was broken within the Chinese-Tibetan border countries. According to official reports 75 percent of the male population were said to have been killed. Actually at least one-quarter of the male population lost their lives. The majority of the survivors escaped into the mountains and into Lhasa territory.

The central government now went to work to make the territory of Ba tang and Li tang Chinese. Colonists were brought from the over-populated lowland, schools and road stations were opened and new rice-field canals were dug in the valley of Ba tang. However, the Chinese army when it had returned to Ba tang, continued to suffer from mass desertions. A band of more than 100 men murdered their own officer at the beginning of 1907, in order to get at the supply of munitions, and as a result it became a menace to the entire region. Rumors about this new difficulty of the Chinese government, of course exaggerated and distorted buzzed back and forth along the big tea route when I traveled between Ka ts'a and Gantse.

In the year 1909, as a result of Tschao ör fong's energy, the Chinese became complete masters of the situation

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from Ta tsien lu by way of Li tang-Ba tang and Tsiamdo from Lhari as far up as Lhasa and Schigatse. In vain Tobden Dalai Lama attempted to snatch the reins of government after he returned from Peking and Gum bum to the Potala in the year 1909. When his intrigues against the Chinese rulers were uncovered, he saw that, as before, his salvation lay in flight. This time he rode head over heels to India. His gracious reception by England is well-known. There he was permitted to undertake various journeys, in order to keep from getting bored and had a chance to widen his horizon. However, in Peking the question seems to have been considered for some time whether the Dalai Lama could be deposed like a king or high priest; in the eyes of the Tibetans of course a vain question!

At this time China was maintaining 3,500 Tibetan and 1,200 Chinese mercenaries in Lhasa, Tashelhunpo, Ting re and a smaller force in Tsiamdo, Dschraya, Ba tang and Li tang. In Dschraya (Chinese: Da yue) also, Tschao êr fong sought to colonize his compatriots and establish rice fields. However, all these colonizing attempts were from the beginning not very successful. Although the colonists received free /209/ transportation, free tools, houses, schools and seeds, most of them wandered back to their homes after a year, and those that remained largely succumbed to the climate.

Meanwhile the Chinese revolution broke out. All that the Manchu government had built up was lost to ambitious Chinese youth within one night. Soon after the outbreak of the confusion the Dalai Lama was able to return to Lhasa and has since then again become unrestricted ruler in political matters as well. Not only Lhasa, but also Lharigo, Tsiamdo, Dschraya and Ba tang, again fell into the hands of the monkish despots. When there was a rebellion of the monks the imperial troops in Central Tibet were in part pushed out toward India, those of anterior Tibet were obliged to move from the highlands into the plain in order to fight the revolution. Not far from Ya tschou fu they were defeated and turned back to Tibet once more in a defeated state. In the meantime all the fetters of discipline were

C T 175

loosened. They finished off by plundering Ta tsien lu and thereupon took off their uniforms and dispersed. The victorious republicans followed on their heels, ravaged the unfortunate inhabitants anew, beheaded the younger brother of the King of Dschagla who had faithfully clung to the old regime and had followed the rest into the plains. The King himself remained hidden for months in the mountains, and did not dare return to his residence which the fighting Chinese had set on fire. Since then the fight is raging in the vicinity of Li tang and Tibet is waiting until another Son of Heaven has fought his way up through the predominance of irrationality, and restored order in China.

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/208/ However, Ta tsien lu is not only the point of departure for war-like expeditions of conquest and the key to Tibet. It is not only the base for Chinese politics in Lhasa. Dartsendo, the Chinese Ta tsien lu, is the largest market town of the whole of Tibet. On my way from Dscherku ndo I met thousands upon thousands of animals, all of whom were loaded down with bales of tea, /209/ all of which had been bought in Dartsendo. Tea is the article of trade which here is by far the most important. Several Chinese wholesale merchants quoted to me the amount of tea that is brought up within a year and here sold to the Tibetans at 7,000,000 cätties, i.e., about 4,500,000 kilograms. (1)

1. I was baffled by this small figure. En route I had figured out, judging from the number of pack animals that I met, that 4,000 tons go by way of Gantse into the interior. However, I estimated that the amount that goes to Ba tang and Li tang and farther inland is at least the same. Attempts have been made to draw inferences about the population of Tibet from the size of the tea trade, but we must not forget that poor Tibetans drink the decoction from any kind of plant in place of the Chinese tea which is always expensive because of the cost of transport. Consul General A. Hosie in his Report Presented to the Parliament, August 1905, puts the figures, on the basis, of accurate estimates, at 8,533,000 cätties worth 948,591 taels, and places the total value of cotton goods, silk and khadar exported to Tibet, at

C 361 south to the seat of the Tu se or rgyalbo of Mu ping (Tibetan: dschumba), that is, to the native king who has received the highest Chinese title among all Tibetan aristocrats and secular rulers. Thus, he is one into whose kingdom the Chinese have penetrated most deeply and intensively and who is next in line to becoming a John Lackland, giving way entirely to the Chinese.

There are good reasons why the Chinese have settled in larger numbers in Hsin gai, Mu gung and Ying gai and why they have moved the center of administration thither. There is no other place far and near suitable for a populous settlement. Since I had left Hor Gantse I had not found so many fields in such close proximity. C 241 Fifty and a hundred meters above the river which is wedged in between rock walls, the valley spreads out in terraces (Plate LXII) which permit extensive plantings, particularly of corn and also of wheat, beans and buckwheat. (1)

C [435]

1. Corn forms the chief nourishment of the inhabitants. At the time of my visit the price of one cattie (600 grams), according to existing exchange, was seven pfennig, whereas in Ta tsien lu a cattie was 25 pfennig and shortly thereafter the prices constantly rose in Ta tsien lu. It is true, Ta tsien lu had to get all its food supplies from the lowland, in fact some things are carried thither from Ya tschou fu on the backs of human beings.

T C 631 175 Mu gung ör fu ting is the administrator and judge of the so-called western Miao tse countries which were subdued and became subject to the Manchu Emperor Kien lung only after two great and bloody wars during the years 1747-49. The decisive and final victory came in the years between 1771 and 1776. It is only since that time that they have come under the Chinese administrative system and been opened up to Chinese colonization and mass invasion. (2) The administrative district of the Mu gung ting is

2. De Mailla, Histoire g. de la Chine, Paris 1780, Vol. XI, p. 589 ff., mistakenly counted these Tibetans from present-day Mu gung ting among the primitive people of Miao tse /223/ and for this reason we still find the history of their conquest in many new history books under the Miao tse wars. D. M. confines himself

6: Tafel--354 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet AJ1
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almost entirely to the period 1774-1776 and the end in Peking.

very extensive, /223/ for his domain includes not only the Valley of the Little Gold River, the Tsanla of the natives (High Tibetan: btsanlha, Chinese: hsiao kin /pronounced tschin/ tschuan) along the entire length of which I traveled from Romi Tschanggu to Mu ch'eng (Tibetan: Sumdo), a distance of 133 kilometers, but also the Valley of the Great Gold River above Romi Tschanggu, the old kingdom of Rardan (today known among the natives as rDyarong /rgyarong, meaning the extensive or Chinese Valley/, High Tibetan: Chu tschen /meaning large body of water/, Chinese: da Kin tschuan and Hsü tsching). Directly on the large Gold River above the narrowest point in the river, some 50 kilometers above Romi Tschanggu, an empire had arisen in the 18th century, which had become the mightiest native state far and wide and which fell only when the ambitious Manchu Emperor Kien lung raised a mighty army to subdue it and called out his elite troops and Manchu from the distant northeast.

The Rardan kingdom on the large Gold River, far from Chinese cultural arteries, could easily have maintained itself to this day if its rulers, just at the time of the final flowering and the greatest bellicosity of the Manchu Dynasty, had not acted particularly heedlessly and harrassed their neighbors by seizing their lands, so that these people constantly called on the Emperor for help and, in the end, supported the imperial army in every possible way. The battles with the high-spirited Rardan gentlemen occupy considerable space in the Scheng wu dyi, the chronicle of the wars of the Manchu Dynasty written in Chinese. The second and decisive war was even treated and published in 120 pamphlets in the Manchurian language. (1)

1. From these E. Haenisch is now in process of putting together a rather large excerpt which he expects to publish in the not too distant future. I am also indebted to him for more specific dates and a revision of the history of this territory.

From this we learn that our territory of Kin tschuan was said to have formed a district of Kin tschuan hsien as far back as the Sui Dynasty (589-618), and in the subsequent Tang period to have belonged to the district of Wei tschou (2) which today no longer exists, while in

2. According to Playfair, Cities and Towns of China

6: Tafel--355 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet AJ1

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this district lay in the northwest of Min tschuan, in the Min district, and not far from present-day Mou (Mao) chou above Kwan hsien. Probably ancient Wei chou is identical with the market town of Wei tschou in the district of Wen tschuan hs. which lies at the mouth of the Li fan River in the Min ho.

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the Ming period it belonged under the administration of the official of Ts'a kou (in the Li fan fu) (3). However, I suspect that this earlier

3. Li fan fu along with Ts'a kou is the next frontier district office north of Mu gung ting to which are joined Mao chou, mentioned above in footnote 2, and then Sung pan ting.

Chinese dominion was always limited to certain favorably-disposed trade customs by means of which Chinese traders were permitted to visit the native kingdom in order to buy drugs and the natives, in turn, could barter what they needed in rice and tea and other luxury articles in the Chinese lowland. In the Ming period all chiefs of the region, like the chiefs of the Koko Nor countries, had received Chinese official seals and titles from Emperor Hung Wu, and the Manchu had /224/ repeated this custom. In 1650 the Prince of Tsanla, among others, recognized the supremacy of the Chinese and became tu se of Kin tschuan. In 1666 a gentleman from Great Kin tschuan with the title of Kia lo ba (? rgyalbo) received a seal from the hand of Emperor Kang hi. The rulers of this region had originated from one kingdom, as was the case in Hor on the western border. In these countries practically the same dialect was spoken (the Kin tschuan language or rgyarong sge). In the course of time this kingdom had been divided into nine tu se or kingdoms. (1) The last of

1. The Tibetans speak of the rdyarong dyalkak dyurdyi (i.e., rgyarong rgyalkak btschobrgye), meaning the 18 rDyarong rulers.

T 619

Colborne Baber, "Travels and Researches," Royal Geographical Society suppl. pap., London 1882, p. 81 and 93 ff. has given by far the most detailed account of this region, although he only touched it. He also speaks of 18 tribes of which he heard. However, he makes quite a heterogeneous grouping: "Dji-la which equals Ming-

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cheng; Mu-p'ing equals Djum-ba; Djia-k'a /?/; Wo-je or Go-je; Rapten which includes Tsen-la; Tamba equals Tang-pa; So-mung, Capt. Gill's Su-mu; Djiu-tse /? my Choktsi or my Krechiu/; Zur-ga, most likely Sung-kang and Gill's Ru-kan; Tchro-shiop, undoubtedly Ch'o-ssu-chia-pu; Pa-ung or Pa-wang; Tchratin /?/; Ge-shie; Ma-zu or Ma-ze; Kung-sar, Pe-re /? my Beri/. Tchran-go; Dje-gu /? my Dergi/. By far the greater number of these names are easily identified with those heard by me. After Baber dwells on the fact that up to his own day geographers did not know these valleys, he reminds the reader of the sensation caused by the Kin tschuan war throughout Tibet and of the words of the dPaldan Yese Pantschen Lama of Tashelhunpo (see Markham. Narratives of the Mission of G. Bogle to Tibet, p. 159). On February 25, 1775 Bogle heard: "The Chinese having at length by means of an immense army subdued Ribdyen Gyripo"; Ribdyen, Rapten seems to be only the High Tibetan form of the name of a tribe or dynasty which sounds like "Rardan" in the Kin tschuan dialect.

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these kings was the rgyalbo of Rardan (Tibetan: tschü tschen, i. e., great body of water, Chinese: Great Kin tschuan) who was by far the mightiest and the one having the greatest number of subjects. The next mightiest who temporarily and until 1723 had even been the greatest and had ruled Tschü tschen was the Tsanla rgyalbo (High Tibetan: btsan lha in written form), the King of Little Kin tschuan who had his powrang, his palaces, near Senggersung (2) and near

2. "S" like the French "z."

present-day Mu gung and Hsin gai tse. (3)

T 622

3. The third most powerful one was the Tschoskiab rgyalbo who lived in the Great Gold River Valley above Tschü tschen, and whom I have mentioned on p. 285, in dealing with the disputes of the Hor princes who border him on the west. He is now the greatest despot of all because he is farthest from the Chinese. Adjoining his country is that of the little Damba rgyalbo, that of the

T 622

Sungkak ("S" like the French "z") or Rung (Sung) kang, and still farther up the Tschoktsi rgyalbo rules, and finally comes the Somo rgyalbo. On the Great Gold River below Tschü tschen was and is the land of the Ba ti (pronounced: Badi) tu se (in the language of the natives Brasdi rgyalbo), then that of Bawang and in the west, in a long lateral valley, that of rGechitsa (rGebschirtsas). Other rgyalbo of this region who, at the time of the Emperor Kien lung, complained about the wantonness of the Tschü tschen rgyalbo, and who along with the Chinese, made war on him and as a result rule to this day, are the rgyalbo of Woksche (Wokdsche), the one from Wa se, from Mu ping and the Dschagla (Ming tscheng) of Ta tsien lu to whom Romi Tschanggu belongs. The tu se of Wa se sits on the way to China between Mu gung ting and Kwan hsien and has consequently become quite Chinese.

C T 175

In all the ravines of the country there stood castles (dsong, Chinese: kwan tsch'ai tse) made of stone and decorated with stone towers, that looked menacingly down into the valleys from inaccessible mountains and from spurs of mountains. All narrow passages of the large valley gorges and all boundary roads were blocked off with ditches and walls and /225/ countless slender towers of stone, the tschiao (Chinese) or tiao. Battering against these stone towers, against the artificial and natural fortifications, a particularly proud master race grew up here. To this day especially the pride of the old masters of the Rardan kingdom is still remembered. Confident of the strength of their populace - probably the country was at that time very much overpopulated because the Bönbo faith still largely predominated and not the Gelugba sect with its celibacy - the Rardan ba set out once again to form one kingdom and unite all nine principalities. The very small princes of Brasdi and Bawang submitted without major battles and payed tribute. The larger ones, however, would not submit to Rardan. They called on the Chinese for help and the latter, true to their well-tested principle "divide and conquer," could not permit a united, powerful kingdom in this region and supported the enemies of the Rardan ba.

According to the chroniclers, the wars began as a result of the fact that in 1746 the Rardan King Schalben set out against Tsanla and brought Tsewang, the king of Tsanla, under his dominion. Then

/Plates LIII, LIV, LV, and LVI appear between pp. 224 and 225 in original text./

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in 1747 Schalben occupied parts of the rGechitsa and Ming tscheng Kingdom. At that time and since the conquest of Lhasa (see p. 223 the Chinese government maintained a garrison in Tai ning (see p. 316), and it attempted first of all to restore order, but Schalben paid no attention to it. Thus, gradually 40,000 men of the "green" Chinese banner were brought together to fight Schalben, but in vain. The Chinese kept suffering defeats. On account of them an imperial prince and a general of long standing were given short shrift. Duke Na tschin was obliged to kill himself with the ancestral sword; General Tschang kwang se who was governor general of Szechwan, was executed in Peking. After the loss of many thousands of men, the imperial court was finally (1749) satisfied when the Rardan returned only their conquests to their neighboring princes and when a somewhat honorable peace was brought about through the mediation of General Yo, the conqueror of Lhasa (in the year 1720) who worked from the North, from Tschoktsi. The castles as well as the entire control in the large Gold River Valley at that time remained untouched by the Chinese.

In 1756 Rardan interfered in quarrels which this time had begun in the Hor states between the Kungsar and the Mazar families. Rardan joined Tschoskiab on the side of Mazar, while rGechitsa, Dergi, the lords of Tschan tui and the Kungsar were all related and stood together. In this conflict Damdung, the king's castle of rGechitsa, was assaulted by Rardan and Tschoskiab, whereupon the tu se of Ming tscheng also intervened. In the west the castles of Mazar were taken by the Dergi and Mazar fled to the Tschan tui. After some time, however, the Chinese officers succeeded in restoring peace by persuasion and in restoring the old state of ownership (see p. 281).

In 1759, after a mutual wedding celebration, Rardan and rGechitsa again came to blows. The smaller kingdom of rGechitsa was almost completely subjugated by the Rardan, just as the small kingdoms of Brasdi (Bati) and Bawang were. At that time Rardan was ruled by a king named Langka, a nephew of Schalben. Thereupon Ts'a kou, Tschoktsi, Tschoskiab and Damba were united as a result of Chinese diplomacy and threatened Rardan from the north. Mu ping, Tsanla and Ming tscheng attacked from the south and within a year freed the rGechitsa once again.

In 1771 Sonam (bSodnams), the son of the Rardan King Langka (written: Nam mka in Tibetan), persuaded Senggisang who was the son of old King Tsewang of Tsanla and who had joined him, to rob his neighbors on the east, the Woksche, of their land. Sonam

himself again attempted to take away rGechitsa and Romi Tschanggu (the Ming tscheng district). The Emperor held the Governor General of Szechwan responsible for this "betrayal" and demanded that he commit suicide. Thereupon he sent forth two generals in 1772, one of whom captured Tsanla by way of Kwan hsien and the land of the Woksche, and forced Sanggisang to flee to the Rardan. Old King Tsewang over whose head Senggisang /226/ had called forth the war, was dragged to Peking as prisoner. /The second division, the one from the south, had earlier in that year suffered a defeat and had lost almost 3,000 men in battle with the Tsanla./ After the conquest of the Tsanla Kingdom Peking was in doubt as to whether it should undertake the struggle against Rardan. But the 21-year-old Rardan King Sonam stirred up the Tsanla once more and they made a surprise attack on a division of 20,000 Chinese (not counting the grain-bearing coolies) who had set out from Kwan hsien and stood at the Mu gu mu Pass in Tsanla. More than 3,000 men fell and the rest were scattered to the four winds. Because of this the Emperor had King Tsewang torn to pieces in a street in Peking, and then sent the General of the Guards Akuei and a crack regiment from Kirin, which was equipped with the most modern firearms. He formed a northern division which operated from Somo and Tschoktsi and Tschoskiab, in conjunction with the troops of these kings, and an eastern division which advanced from Kwan hsien together with the Wa se and Woksche to Tsanla, and finally a southern division which attacked the west side of the river together with Ming tscheng and rGechitsa. Nevertheless, in spite of the rather rapid reoccupation of Tsanla, there was only slow progress. Tower after tower and castle after castle had to be besieged and taken (Plate LI). Everywhere there was stubborn resistance. In the reports of the generals there is talk of 300 and more stone towers which the natives had erected on a mountainside and that had to be captured if the troops wanted to advance in the valley. The most important castles or powrang of the Rardan country were Gelengge, Leu (or Lewu, Chinese: Le wu wei) and Ka ör ya or, according to the Manchurian accounts, Garai (Karai, according to de Mailla; and Ka ör ya in Chinese, which seems to me to be the present-day Guar nge /Tibetan/ or the Chinese Tsung hoa, or which at least was situated near it). But it took years of constant struggle before the Chinese-Manchurian armies with their Tibetan auxiliaries had worked their way up to these chief places. Whenever a group of fortifications had been captured, a new group was encountered on the mountain immediately behind it. Gelengge did not fall until the fifth month of

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the year 1775; the royal castle of Leu was finally shattered and set on fire in the night of August 15, 1775 by the Chinese artillery. (1)

1. De Mailla, Histoire..... reports that Generalissimo Akuei, on account of the narrow, winding mountain paths, cast his guns on the spot from bronze and iron bars which his coolie army carried along behind him. This method was retained by the Chinese in their many mountain wars and rebellions until after the middle of the 19th century.

But the resistance was thereby not in the least weakened. The accounts list another dozen and a half fortresses that had to be captured, one after the other, before the armies could finally surround the southern one of the two castles of the King, Guar nge (Chinese: Ka ör ya, Manchurian: Karaï) on the seventeenth day of the twelfth Chinese month in the year 1775. After another dozen fortified places had been captured, among them Marbang, the town at the boundary of Bati, the Chinese commanders-in-chief united all their troops around Guar nge and at last, on the fourth day of the second month during the forty-first year of the reign of Kien lung (1776) it was announced to the Emperor that the royal castle of Guar nge had also fallen. After a siege lasting more than 40 days King Sonam could hold out no longer. Langka and Senggisang had died earlier. He surrendered - in the end their supplies had run out and their water had been cut off - together with his brothers and wives and - a garrison of 2,000 men. Therewith the Rardan Kingdom was destroyed and the whole of Kin tschuan lay at the feet of the Chinese. The message announcing the surrender was sent by express courier and, according to the Scheng wu dyi, is said to have been in Peking in the hands of the King within eight (!) days, and, according to the same source, the war must have cost 70 million taels, more than twice as much as the destruction of the Kalmuken kingdom in the Dungari and the conquest of Turkestan a few years before.

Chinese-Manchurian reasoning naturally showed no mercy toward the defeated heroes. In the old Kingdom of the Middle it was always a question of rebels when anyone anywhere in the world held a different opinion from the rulers on the dragon throne. King Sonam was taken to Peking as a prisoner /227/ and there - as the Rardan ba today relate - he was wrapped in cotton batting, oil was poured over

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him and he was burned alive. (1)

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1. According to de Mailla, Sonam had General Wen fu who was captured in Mu gung, burned alive. Sonam himself (see p. 595 , Vol. II) was tortured and cut to pieces after a big celebration in the palace, along with his brother, an aunt, several other relatives and his ministers 20 persons in all; 19 others were merely beheaded, 16 imprisoned for life, 52 sold into slavery at Ili; 138 Tibetan leaders were distributed as servants in Mongolia and Manchuria.

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The dynasty in Rardan was exterminated like that of Tsanla. But in their original countries Chinese colonists settled, and, beginning with the town of Marbang on the border of Bati, there are today the following flourishing Chinese settlements: Tsung hoa (near the old Guar nge with at present about 600 Chinese families), farther north Lhasding (the market town of the monastery of Kwan hoa se /Yung dshung lha sden/ with 30 families of Chinese), then Tu song (Doksum with at present about 300 families of Chinese), Dshietse (40 Chinese families), Hsü tsching (Ngargu, 1,000 Chinese families). These settlements are under the control of two tai ye (secretaries, one in Tsung hoa and one in Hsü tsching), while next to them in the lateral valleys, under the control of probably a dozen hereditary native officials, the so-called "Darro" (Chinese: schu be meaning captain or ts'ien hu meaning lord of 1,000, and tsien tsung meaning lieutenant or be hu meaning lord of 100) and the so-called tschungro (hereditary officers, Chinese: tsch'ai schu), a remnant of the Rardan tribe has been preserved and they keep alive the memory of the glorious fall of their ancient freedom. (2) There are about 2,500 Chinese

2. Darro corresponds to the "deba" of Inner Tibet; Tschungro corresponds to schel ngo. In Rardan there are today two ts'ien hu, one in Leu and the other in sBedung west of the river. There are also Darro in Brasdi (Bati), Tschoskiab and Somo. Their sons are called deresi.

families living there today and about an equal number of Tibetans. In the old days there were possibly 6,000-7,000 families of Tibetans with hardly more than 10,000 warriors. Conditions are similar in Tsanla. There Chinese colonies have arisen (3) in Yo ts'a,

3. Since 1779 there exists the office of a ting of Mu